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TOMAS KIAUKA received his Ph.D. in 2005 from the University of Vilnius. He is a member of the Lithuanian Society of Cultural Studies and the Lithuanian Society of Ethnologists and Anthropologists. His research interests are primarily related to the history of the Lithuanian language and literature. He co-edited and translated an anthology of *Vydiūnas* (Vydūnas) (Vilnius, 2007). *Dievės pėdėkam* (Following God's Footprints) (Vilnius, 2008).

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Žalgiris Stadium – a post-war edifice in the vicinity of the demolished old Jewish cemetery. See, p. 76.

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The Post-Soviet Reception of *Vydūnas*, or the Particularities of Lithuanian Cultural Memory

TOMAS KIAUKA

Introduction:

Problematic Questions in the Case of *Vydūnas*

The cultural memory of a nation reveals its vitality, consciousness, and criticality, both in the present and historically. Due to historical circumstances, for a long time Lithuania was unable to freely develop a national cultural narrative; as a result the nation also lacked the potential for vitality. After the re-establishment of independence, sudden changes happened in the political and governmental spheres but the inner consciousness of the people was incapable of changing at the same pace. One of the reasons behind this lag was the fact that during the Soviet occupation, as a reaction to ideological constraints, Lithuania developed a "local" vs "foreign" system regarding the differentiating of cultural values. This is still felt to this day. This "syndrome" manifested itself first and foremost in the fact that certain values were accepted as a part of a local cultural identity and others were rejected as foreign. But what were the factors determining this process and what were the motivations behind these choices? We can examine the question of

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process by looking at the post-Soviet reception of Vyduñas' work, the particularities of which will be discussed in this paper.

The question addressed here can be loosely defined as an attempt at differentiating the "local" and "foreign" cultural values identified in Vyduñas' work and their transformations and adaptations in various processes of reception. The topicality of this question becomes clear in light of the ambivalent evaluation of Vyduñas and his work, both when he was alive and after his death, but also based on his *idiosyncrasy* in the context of Lithuanian cultural memory. On one hand, many cultural historians view him as a cultural worker and representative of German culture, often ascribing him the role of intermediary between Lithuanian and German cultures. On the other hand, Vyduñas "earned" the respect of Eastern philosophy, specifically as a representative of the Indian neo-Vedic in Lithuania, sometimes furnishing it with elements of esoteric gnostic theosophy. As a result, Vyduñas is connected with two "foreign" cultures in Lithuanian cultural memory – German and Indian. Examining the relationship between his reception and these "foreign" elements and their influence on the general positioning of Vyduñas in the context of cultural memory, can reveal some particularities in their effect on Lithuanian cultural memory and its formation. According to cultural historian Jan Assmann, memory is always selective; for this reason it unavoidably involves oblivion and sometimes also the rejection of traumatic experience. Recalling that Vyduñas lived and worked in a conflicted historical context, and by exploring his creative impulses and intentions in this context, we can begin to understand its impact and importance on how he was received.

We can provisionally divide the chronology of the study of how Vyduñas was received into three stages: the period encompassing Vyduñas' lifespan, the Soviet era, and the post-Soviet era (from the re-establishment of Lithuania's independence to the present). These periods are differentiated by dissimilar political-cultural backgrounds and conditions as related to the reception of

Vydūnas' work. As previously stated, this paper is interested in the post-Soviet period – starting from the Rebirth (Atgimimas) and the re-establishment of independence – but also in gaining a broader understanding of how Vyduunas' work spread and was received. This includes examining the following areas: the publication of Vyduunas' writings and dramas, the translation from German (and later, publication) of his *opus magnum* *Septyni šimtai metų vokiečių ir lietuvių santykiai* (Seven hundred years of German-Lithuanian Relations), the formation of the Vyduunas Association (created to help propagate Vyduunas' legacy and teachings), the many articles and monographs written about him, the conferences organized about him and his work, and so forth.¹ It must also be noted that the post-Soviet era is the period of the most intensive positioning of Vyduunas in Lithuanian cultural consciousness and memory.

Contexts of Approach and Range of Assessment: A First Impression

Vyduunas was well known as a writer, dramaturge, philosopher, public figure (he was the leader of the choristers association, a publicist, and a lecturer), health enthusiast, and even a political participant. One of the results of his activity in so many areas of social and political life, is that his legacy can be assessed quite differently in different contexts. In some contexts, he is seen as a guiding light, a type of religious guru, or even as the "Lithuanian Socrates". In other contexts, he is not seen as playing any meaningful role at all in the history of Lithuanian philosophy, or even in culture in general. For example, in *Kultūra lietuvių filosofų akiratyje* (Culture in the view of Lithuanian philosophers), a 2012 monograph by Arūnas Sverdiolas examining the history of philosophy in Lithuania – a paper that can boldly be described as the most com-

¹ Diana Gerasimova wrote a valuable and comprehensive Master's thesis about Vyduunas and his work, which was published as *Vyduuno kūrinių leidyba ir sklaida*, Vilnius, 2010.

prehensive and substantial of such studies – Vyduñas is not discussed in any depth or even granted individual study. This type of assessment stems from the assertion that in his work Vyduñas did not create a single original system of philosophy; he “did not comprehensively develop any original cultural activity”.² On the other hand, another well-known and respected philosopher, Arvydas Šliogeris, expresses a different view, stating in an interview with the news portal Delphi³:

“The first independent Lithuanian philosophers – Vyduñas, S. Šalkauskis, A. Maceina, J. Girnius – are, unfortunately, first and foremost thought of as theologists or ideologues. For this reason, their uniquely Lithuanian way of thinking is more likely to be expressed in an instructive way, in individual moments of insight or unexpected diversions from other forms of theological dogmatism”.

It is interesting that the same individuals evoked by Šalkauskis as philosophers and independent thinkers – Maceina, Girnius, and Sverdiolas – Šliogeris groups alongside Vyduñas, and refers to as theologists and ideologues (not philosophers).

As we can see, in the estimation of two of the most respected philosophers in Lithuania, Vyduñas’ ideas don’t elicit any significant enthusiasm. However, he is met with a very different reception in the religious sphere, which is dominated, obviously, by Catholicism. Here when Vyduñas’ name is evoked it’s most often as a warning sign because most thinkers and scholars are quite troubled by his non-Catholicism, his views on the connections between theosophy and neo-Vedic traditions, and by the elements that arise in his thinking that are foreign to Christianity (reincarnation, for example). The most salient thing that must be mentioned when discussing Vyduñas’ religious views – a problem signalled by the often synonymous usage of “Christianity” and “Catholicism” – is

² Sverdiolas, *Kultūra lietuvių*, 31.

³ <http://www.delfi.lt/news/daily/lithuania/asliogeris-lietuviu-galvotojai-dirbtini-pazinima-iskeicia-i-pirmapradi-patyrima.d?id=49871300>.

that for some people the fact that Vyduñas was not Catholic means he was also not a Christian. This view is further supported by citing Vyduñas' interest in the East and theosophy, as well as his critical views of Christianity. We have many reasons to believe that on the whole Vyduñas' relationship with Christianity deserves further attention and has not yet been fully understood.

As in earlier periods⁴, Vyduñas' literary work has garnered serious scholarly attention in the post-Soviet period. Though his works are generally not read by the broader public, scholars in the academic world have paid them a great deal of attention, and in addition to a number of articles on his literary oeuvre two important monographs have been published in the post-Soviet period: one in 1998 by Regimantas Tamošaitis, and a second in 2000 by Aušra Martišiūtė. We will return to them later in this essay.

The first serious outpouring of works on Vyduñas after the re-establishment of independence, was a collection of articles that appeared in 1994, titled *Vyduñas lietuvių kultūroje* (Vyduñas in Lithuanian culture). The collection identifies many themes found in Vyduñas' work, from philosophy and religion to physics and drama. However, it is quite evident it was compiled without any focus on a single direction of analysis. The aim of the volume can be loosely described as "let's rediscover Vyduñas", asserting the vague idea that "a distinctive Vyduñas-like melody can finally join the polyphony of healing and strengthening national culture".⁵ With the exception of a handful of texts, most of the essays contained in this collection cannot be described as deep scholarly analysis. Many simply outline the merits of Vyduñas in relation to Lithuania and Lithuanian culture, discussing one or two aspects of his work and focusing on his religious alignment towards the East, especially to old Indian religion. What is striking, however, is the fact that of 40 authors who discuss Vyduñas' religiosity only one –

⁴ Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, Jonas Lankutis, and Rimvydas Šilbajoris have all analysed Vyduñas' literary works.

⁵ *Vyduñas lietuvių kultūroje*, 3.

Helmut Arnašius – examines Vyduñas' Protestant-Lutheran roots. Many of the authors in the volume pay attention to the mysteriousness of Vyduñas' thinking, to its foreignness, its "closed-ness"; however this direction (or rather, this observational assumption) is not analyzed in any deeper way. Nor is it connected to Vyduñas' "depths" or with the unseen and the Eastern intuitive way of thinking as opposed to the ways of the West:

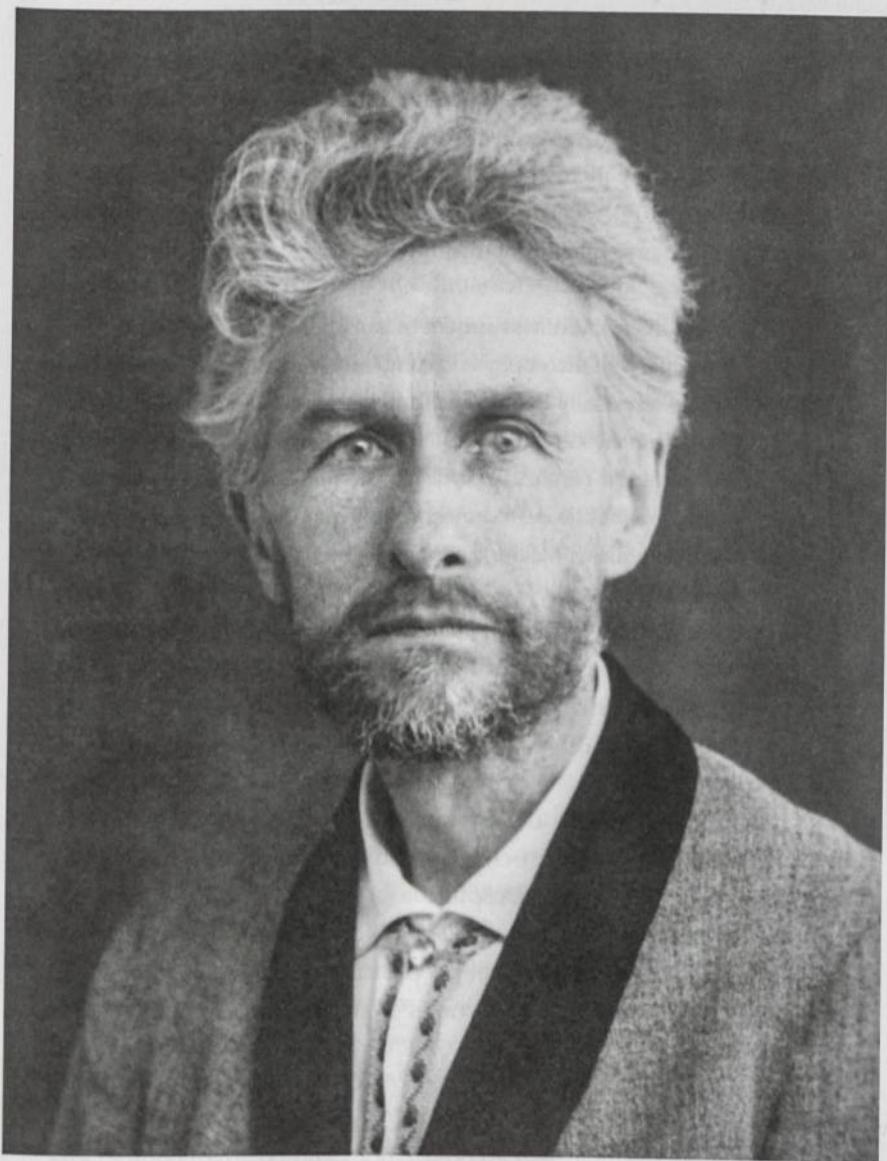
"The Eastern philosophical tradition that Vyduñas subscribed to is grounded more in contemplation than our Western way, which is accustomed to the principles of rational thinking. The West seeks to solve the secrets of the world, whereas the East is more interested in revealing the world's mysteries, often adhering to the idea that these mysteries cannot be explained rationally. For this reason in the instances where Eastern philosophy comes into contact with the West, the 'conversation' most often manifests in discussions of mystical teaching or irrationalism".⁶

As Vaitkūnas summarizes: "Vyduñas is the Lithuanian East. And the opposite is also true – the East in our culture is Vyduñas." This best expresses the common denominator of the articles in this collection, which in a way has been sealed as the spiritual-religious image of Vyduñas in Lithuanian cultural consciousness.

Images of Vyduñas in Contemporary Cultural Consciousness: Neo-Vedic, Theosopher, Mystic

Investigating the multi-faceted nature of the cultural phenomenon that is Vyduñas, requires a diversity of research directions and methodologies. For this reason, the cultural "image" of Vyduñas cannot be drawn one-dimensionally, though the usual portrait is dominated by an "Eastern-ness" ascribed to his way of thinking. A

⁶ Vaitkūnas, "Vyduñas ir Rytų idėja," 65.



Vilius Storostas -Vydūnas in 1930

separate emphasis on and recognition of his various cultural significances, also allows us to identify a certain hierarchy of images.

The most commonly recognized and dominant image of Vyduñas, is characterized by an identification of his way of thinking with Indian neo-Vedic traditions. This image was posited and popularized by the most authoritative of Vyduñas scholars, Vacy Bagdonavičius. According to Bagdonavičius, Vyduñas discovered ancient Indian philosophy through theosophy, drawing from various sources:

"The main source was ancient Indian philosophy. This was supplemented with theosophy and combined with other ancient philosophies (especially Pythagoreanism, Platonism, and Neo-Platonism), Christian mystics, and ideas taken from the idealism of new Europe, in particular pantheism. Vyduñas was familiar with all these different ideas but he delved most deeply into the source-texts of early Indian philosophy; the *foundational principles* (author's emphasis) of these texts would also form his own philosophical core. After this *direct contact* (author's emphasis) with Indian philosophy, all other ideas entering Vyduñas' intellectual sphere were only as relevant as they supported (through additional arguments) the ideas asserted in this [Eastern – transl. note] philosophy".⁷

Bagdonavičius often notes Vyduñas' affinity with the late nineteenth and early twentieth century religious reformers in India, especially Gandhi. Despite the fact that "Gandhi and Vyduñas never had any direct personal contact and did not teach each other one-on-one, the closeness of the principles of their lives, activities, and world-view is quite obvious". The similarity, Bagdonavičius

⁷ Bagdonavičius, *Vyduñas*, 20–21. It must be noted that Bagdonavičius does not uncover or crystallize what "the foundational Hindu philosophy principles" are, nor what it means to have "a direct contact with Hindu philosophy". In general, one should discuss Hindu philosophy in the singular only in such cases where it is being directly compared to another culture's philosophy.

explains, comes from the fact that both men studied the same ancient Indian philosophical source texts and both worked under analogous conditions of national oppression.

Vydūnas' turn towards ancient India does not appear to be accidental but rather seems to stem from an understanding of a natural approach, a search for the deepest roots of the Lithuanian people, one connected with the old Balt religion and the Lithuanian language. As Daujotytė asserts: "Vydūnas was led there (to India) by ideas, and the ancient Lithuanians could be traced to the East, by the closeness of the Lithuanian language to the Vedic language, Sanskrit, for example. Vydūnas was (and remains) one of the most learned experts and interpreters of ancient, pre-Christian Lithuanian beliefs and culture". This mythologized connection between India and ancient Lithuanian cultures gives rise to romanticized and mysterious propositions. And it appears these ideas were not foreign to Vydūnas either. According to Daujotytė, "in creating a philosophical world in its entirety – a universal structure – he strove for an authentic Lithuanian spiritual experience and the sublimation of Eastern wisdom. This sublimation occurred within the space of an authentic national experience and language, but it did not crystallize into an authentic form of life".⁸ However, Daujotytė does not describe with any more precision how we might define an "authentic Lithuanian spiritual experience" or "Eastern wisdom", and so the exact makeup of both these ideas remains abstract and obscured, raising mysterious associations and arousing the interpretative imagination.

This image of Vydūnas as a Lithuanian neo-Vedic goes unchallenged. In fact, it forms the foundation of many scholars' examination of Vydūnas' work: "Researchers' assert that Vydūnas' work is of the Lithuanian neo-Vedic variant".⁹ Closely related, but often unexamined, is the image of Vydūnas' as theosopher, an image best defined in the literary monograph by Regimantas Tamošaitis,

⁸ Daujotytė, "Vydūno gelmiškumas," 14.

⁹ Maziliauskaitė, "Tautiškumo refleksija," 86.

Kelionė į laiko pradžią. Indų idealizmas, Vyduñas, Krėvė (Journey to the Beginning of Time. Indian Idealism, Vyduñas, and Krėvė). At the end of his paper, Tamošaitis states: "The most constructive of all the principles found in Vyduñas' work, and his dominant system of rationality, is a theosophical doctrine in its modern form of occult Gnosticism."¹⁰ Expanding on the implications and explications of this statement, he goes further: "Vyduñas gives the idea of the metaphysical human unparalleled importance, whereas the historical, bodily existing human has neither worth nor freedom. Historically, the goal of the individual is the enacting of the principle of individuation (the ego) and connecting to a holistic system, following universal evolutionary stages. Human culture is the catalyst for this process." And finally Tamošaitis categorizes "Vyduñas' theory" as a typical representation of "gnostic heresy" taking on a modern form in a "Christian meta-cultural context".¹¹ It is possible that these methodologically correct conclusions (if we are talking only about theory) Tamošaitis makes, have created the preconditions for dissenting opinions; it is clear that Vyduñas thought of himself as a gnostic theosopher, therefore as a Christian he was essentially a heretic. This fact serves to support another image of Vyduñas, that of a representative of "foreign" and unaccepted ideas.

Tamošaitis' study also raises another question: does the identification of Vyduñas' way of thinking with theosophical doctrine, whose frameworks Vyduñas also studied, presuppose a one-sided understanding of Vyduñas? Is the "real" Vyduñas obscured because of his own assertion that the "historical, bodily existing individual does not himself have worth nor freedom", a statement at odds with the historical biography of Vyduñas, his personal characteristics, and the concrete facts of his life. Recalling that Vyduñas often made an impression exactly because he rarely changed his

¹⁰ Tamošaitis, *Kelionė į laiko pradžią*, 284.

¹¹ Ibid., 285–287.

convictions, we have some basis to doubt the reliability of the image of Vyduñas as gnostic theosopher as constructed by Tamošaitis.

"Our Socrates"

Vyduñas' connection to the East is an important point of departure when examining Vyduñas in relation to the Romuva movement (which started in the Soviet period), namely the relationship he posited between the Lithuanian language and ancient Baltic religions with Sanskrit and ancient Indian religion. The Romuva society was interested in authentic Lithuanian ethno-culture, which the Soviet security police viewed as anti-establishment and under this pretense persecuted Romuva members (especially Jonas Trinkūnas, the "soul" of the movement). After the re-establishment of independence, Romuva was no longer illegal but nevertheless remained underground because the powers that be in the dominant Catholic Church did not approve of its neo-pagan activities. Romuva was not recognized as a traditional religious community (it lacked continuity in the pre-Soviet period) because its members spoke critically of Christianity, and this created a particular kind of conflict. It's understandable, then, that the association of Vyduñas with Romuva as one of the movement's thought-leaders and inspirations might cause some members of the Catholic community to develop unfavorable and sometimes even harsh opinions of him.

It is interesting that Vyduñas himself did not see any sense in reviving the old Lithuanian religion. He valued real, unspoiled Christianity over paganism because in it he saw reflected the essence and universality of all religion.¹² It seems that in this case a certain romanticized and mythologized image of Vyduñas is undermined by his own attitudes. Representing an alternative to the traditional official Catholic position, Algirdas Patackas calls Vyduñas "our Socrates" and draws inspiration from him and his

¹² Vyduñas, *Raštai* 4, 138–139.

work when looking for a path out of what he sees as the crisis of civilization in the West:

"For us Lithuanians the problem of East vs West that possesses the Western mind should be considered from a different perspective. We have our own East within ourselves and when we want to find spiritual renewal, to reach that mysterious Shambala, we needn't travel to Kathmandu or the Tibetan monasteries like Western hippies. For us it is enough to journey into ourselves – a journey much more difficult, but possible because we have spiritual leaders such as Vyduñas, Čiurlionis, and Milašius."¹³

Representative of German Culture: Intermediary between Germany and Lithuania

Many scholars, without rejecting Vyduñas' "Eastern mind-set", also see him as a representative of German culture, finding in his works a way of thinking or other elements that somehow connect to Germany. Vyduñas is also often seen as an intermediary between German and Lithuanian culture and in times of discord he is viewed as protecting Lithuanian culture not through confrontation, but rather through cultural compromise.¹⁴

In her discussion of Vyduñas' musical works, Daiva Kšanienė describes his activities as choirmaster in the context of maintaining resilient ties with German musical culture and the Protestant hymn tradition and shows a reciprocal relationship of respect and cooperation between aspects of Lithuanian and German culture. Vyduñas compiled the choir's repertoire himself and translated the hymns and songs from German, adapting them to his choir's strengths. Kšanienė further observes that both the Lithuanian and German press responded favorably to Vyduñas' choir and valued its high artistic level.¹⁵ Extrapolating from these facts, we can con-

¹³ Patackas, *Litua*, 403, 34.

¹⁴ Pocytė, "Das Phänomen," 52.

¹⁵ Kšanienė "Vyduñas' musikalische," 57, 60.

clude that the activity of the choir, led by Vyduñas, brought Lithuanians and Germans closer together.

When thematizing Vyduñas' conception of existence, Tamošaitis observes a kinship with German hermeneutics and Heidegger's ontological mysticism. Tamošaitis connects these traits with Eastern intuitivist wisdom, because even Heidegger had an interest in the East. We also see the important role of language; existence is expressed through language, especially through the native tongue: "For Heidegger, language is the home of existence, for Vyduñas it's the breath of the life of a nation, showing just how far the life force of the nation reaches [...]." ¹⁶

In contrast, rather than accentuating Vyduñas' ties to the East, Rima Palijanskaitė focuses on his deep connection with German mystics, positing: "[I]n his works Vyduñas, in essence, expresses the same mystical ideas characteristic of German mystics". She finds these similarities in the idea of "living faith" (as opposed to non-living dogmatic belief): "Living faith can be defined as living one's essence, an authentic existence". Palijanskaitė further states: "In Vyduñas' work, and in the work of the German mystics, we can find a belief in the connection between one's own essence and God and his will; this is the essence of living faith". It is interesting to note that in understanding "living faith" as an expression of mysticism, as well as one of Vyduñas' essential characteristics, Palijanskaitė does not go further and link the idea with Lutheran Protestantism, even though that church has held *sola fidei* (by faith alone) as one of its essential principles since the Reform period. Instead, she compares it with Catholic modernism¹⁷ and the state-

¹⁶ Tamošaitis, *Kelionė į laiko pradžią*, 176.

¹⁷ "Catholic modernism and the Living Faith movement, French personalism, and Vyduñas' philosophy in essence seek the same thing – authenticity of the religious experience; living faith, which, as Vyduñas said, changes a person "from the inside", and that is everything in both his life and in the life of a society. This living faith arises from the essence of an individual and for that reason it is mysterious – mystic." Palijanskaitė "Vyduñas ir vokiečių mistika," 137.

ments made by Lithuanian priests in the first inter-war period referring to Vyduñas as a moral authority who, if he were a Catholic, would be close to sainthood.

In her examination of Vyduñas' dramatic works, Martišiūtė identifies a deep connection between their "search for essential expression" and German expressionism, though Vyduñas himself, as far as we know, judged the tendencies of modern art of his time (including expressionism) quite critically. Vyduñas' dramatic works also distinguish themselves through their modification of the father-son motif popular in expressionist dramas into one of generational conflict. According to Martišiūtė, Vyduñas used this paradigm to examine German-Lithuanian relations and the conflict arising between subjugators and the subjugated.¹⁸ Other distinctive traits in Vyduñas' dramatic works, have been interpreted as related to ancient ritual Indian dramas or as being in some way or other connected to and influenced by Indian culture. In her discoveries of such religious "material", Martišiūtė does question whether these *ceremonies* and *rituals* might not only be connected to German expressionism and Indian religious rituals but also to German Christian-Protestant culture (for example, Lutheran service rites). This presumption is grounded in the fact that many of the motifs Vyduñas employs in his dramas (i.e. the creation of the world, downfall and rebirth, overcoming death, messianic saviors, human sacrifice, suffering, the exaltation of the humble, the re-invention of the individual, etc.), are important mythic themes in Christian as well as in Lutheran service rites. This position is further supported by the fact that many of Vyduñas' plays also happen to be direct interpretations of Christian themes. There is some basis on which to interpret the themes often encountered in Vyduñas' dramatic works (including the apocalyptic, soteriological interpretations, and eschatological ideas of the future) as more likely referencing a Western Christian context rather than the Indian East. Though

¹⁸ Martišiūtė-Linartienė, "Grundzüge des Expressionismus," 126, 136.

at the outset of her paper, Martišiūtė does cite Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas' study of Vyduñas' dramatic works, pointing to a cultural context other than Greater-Lithuania and Eastern Prussia as well as to the influence of Protestant pastors, the works of other writers, and the influence of the German language – all aspects that have been established as part of Vyduñas' originality¹⁹ – she does not attempt to delve any deeper into the meaning and validity of these observations.

Vyduñas' Religious Characteristics: Bagdonavičius' Interpretation

One of the most obvious characteristics of Vyduñas' identity is his religiousness. Bagdonavičius examines this trait deeply and from a variety of perspectives; however, his conclusions about Vyduñas' way of thinking and its identification with the neo-Vedic, raise quite a few questions. For example, how does one explain that even though Vyduñas thought deeply about Eastern sages, according to Bagdonavičius he was "not one of those followers who was able to totally isolate himself from the world and reach Nirvana at a time when that world was being destroyed by evil. The suffering of the nation, of the world, was also his suffering."²⁰ Bagdonavičius makes these observations without explanation, but these nuances are meaningful and worthy of a moment of attention. Generally speaking, we can say that despite many similarities, Western and Eastern religions differ most greatly in the emotional realm in general, and specifically in their view of suffering. The Christian imperative encourages individuals to "carry one's cross"; the Eastern tradition encourages individuals to free themselves from their

¹⁹ "Without a doubt the German language and way of thinking [...] echoes throughout Vyduñas' writing style. The spirit of Western civilization and all of its psychic structure formed somewhat differently from ours, growing from Slavic influence," Martišiūtė, 35.

²⁰ Bagdonavičius, *Vyduñas*, 51.

burdens. Other divergences and contradictions exist, one of which I will present in depth here.

From Bagdonavičius' extensive writings about Vyduñas on this subject, we will examine one narrowly defined article that reflects a characteristic deficiency when interpreting Vyduñas' life and work. The article, titled "Panašus gyvenimas – panašus mąstymas. Vyduñas ir Schweitzeris" (Similar Life, Similar thinking. Vyduñas and Schweitzer), was published in the German language collection *Vyduñas und deutsche Kultur* (Vyduñas and German Culture). This text is particularly suitable for our analysis because Schweitzer was an individual with a similar mentality – a Lutheran theologian who, like Vyduñas, was raised by a priest and devoted his life to serving humanity. When comparing Schweitzer and Vyduñas, Bagdonavičius finds phenomenal similarities and parallels in their thinking, activities, and even personal preferences that connect them from childhood right through to adulthood. However, one detail that catches the eye is that in his assertion of their similarities, Bagdonavičius does not examine in any depth the roots and reasons behind these similarities. He merely lists mostly external factors – both had priests for fathers, grew up in pious but materially lacking homes, had a great love of music, and a curiosity about the world; both had a special interest in the East and similar ethical principles, placing humanity at the top of their value hierarchy; and finally, both had a tendency towards realizing their ideas in a practical manner.

From Bagdonavičius' exposition it is clear that many of the similarities between these two men arise from their religious convictions, which both cultivated from childhood. However, these religious components alone are not enough to distinguish the pair in any concrete way; their identities are rendered faceless, abstract, and without any specificities of their faiths. Their selfhood is understood only from one point of view – spirituality – and their identities take shape in Bagdonavičius' comparative analysis as a cliché: "the objectified West" vs "the spiritual East". Only once in



Artist H. Hoepner Fidus, Vyduñas, prof. V. Falkenhau. Königsberg, 1935

the entire article are the concepts of "Protestantism" and "Lutheranism" evoked – Bagdonavičius refers to the fact that Schweitzer's father was a Lutheran pastor. Bagdonavičius generalizes in his comparison of Vyduñas and Schweitzer: "Both thinkers walked the same paths in their search, deepening their knowledge of world religions as the foundations for different cultures, [...] both based their thinking on Western and far Eastern spiritual experiences and searched for ways to bring both spheres closer together."²¹ In this context, it is interesting to note that Bagdonavičius observes in Schweitzer and Vyduñas almost diametrically opposed perspectives on Hindu spirituality. For Schweitzer, Hinduism appeared to devalue the meaning of the world and of life and encouraged a withdrawal from activities that attempted to improve the world. According to Bagdonavičius, Vyduñas did not feel that the religious Hindu experience had a "pessimistic flavor"; he didn't see it

²¹ Bagdonavičius, "Ähnliches Leben," 323. Translation from German by the author.

²¹ Without this context, the concept of "orthodoxy" loses its specific meaning and becomes a synonym for "free" or "loose."

as distancing from the world, but rather the opposite, as an "ideal with inherent meaning".²²

And so Bagdonavičius asserts a similarity in the basic ideas championed by Schweitzer and Vyduñas, placing their roots in a religious context, but does not thematize the specificities of this religious dimension. This perspective, however, might be excused based on the fact that neither Schweitzer nor Vyduñas were especially concerned with confessional identity, or at the very least did not emphasize it.²³

Another reason Bagdonavičius does not analyze the significance of confessional identity, might also be the defined purpose and scope of his paper. He is not seeking to analyze the similarities between Vyduñas and Schweitzer at any great depth; his goal is only to uncover and describe these similarities. With this in mind it might be possible to agree with him; however his article also serves as an illustrative example of a larger tendency in Bagdonavičius' perspective which is found, to a greater or lesser extent, in all of his works. When highlighting Vyduñas' religiosity as deeply significant in all of Vyduñas' thinking and work and emphasizing his religious upbringing as important to the foundations of Vyduñas' values, Bagdonavičius does not evoke any other aspects of that re-

²² This different view of the East comprises the prerequisite for the question about the reception of Vyduñas' Eastern philosophical ideas, about the possible implications and motivations of this reception, and about the influence of Protestant mentality.

²³ Bagdonavičius, "Ähnliches Leben," 322. Here it is important to separate the act of belonging to a confession as a specific religious practice from having a confessional mentality, arising from that confession's specific system of values and determining the particularities of its mode of thinking. And so to not emphasize one's own confessional association, to not practice its rituals does not mean the same thing as not having a confessional identity or a specific confessional mentality. There exists plenty of foundation to presume that the similarities found between Vyduñas and Schweitzer are mostly determined by exactly this similarity in confessional mentality based on the Protestant cultural space they were raised in.

ligious identity²⁴ except neo-orthodoxy.²⁵ Generalizing from these observations, we can see that regardless of the significance of this religious foundation (especially in the period of childhood and adolescence), Vyduñas' character is described in a generalized, abstract way without any attempt to thematize or shed light onto any other influences on his religious identity (such as the influence of Eastern religious experiences). And so Bagdonavičius thematizes Vyduñas' religiosity, his theologicism, solely through the Hindu religious and philosophical context, not even mentioning the possibility of another naturally occurring influence – Christian-Lutheran piety, for example – or other substantiated interactions between him and the world.

Protestant Vyduñas as the Dark Side of Lithuanian Identity?

More than twenty years ago, in a talk, dedicated to the 125th anniversary of Vyduñas' birth, Darius Kuolys quite accurately observed:

²⁴ In a brief biography of Vyduñas, Bagdonavičius notes that "religiosity was the heart of all his upbringing" and that at the age of nine Vilius (Vyduñas) read the Bible from start to finish "but much of what was contained in it, especially in the Old Testament, disappointed him". However, in time "with the help of his father, he figured out that the [Old Testament] needed to be understood not in a literal way, but allegorically", See Bagdonavičius, *Vyduñas*, 10. Here it is important to pay attention to the fact that there is no "neutral" way to read the Bible. One approaches the religious text with the interpretation determined by a specific tradition, a fact clearly supported by the history of Christianity and the varied Biblical reading traditions in the Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Protestant churches. Knowing Vyduñas' father received his theological training in a Berlin seminary that belonged to the Lutherans, one can assume that his biblical exegesis developed based on the historical-critical method. It is the influence of this Protestant method that can be felt in Vyduñas' texts when he interprets various, different Biblical texts, Cf. Vyduñas, *Raštai* 4, 347–348.

²⁵ From a religious point of view, a neo-orthodoxy such as this can only be asserted in respect to a specifically defined religiousness (a religion, its confession, or a confession's specific service or form of worship (i.e. Lutheran piety)) that has its own set conception of orthodoxy. Without this context, the concept of "orthodoxy" loses any specific meaning and becomes a synonym for "free" or "loose".

"Maybe the present, intensifying corporeal reality, the undefeatable character of resistance in Lithuanian culture, destines us to think of Vyduñas as a representative of a foreign culture, a foreign epoch – slandering him respectfully, not daring to speak openly so as to not damage the mysterious greatness of Vyduñas with a critical academic eye, with the suspicions of a modernizing Lithuanian Catholic church, with a liberalizing intellectual skepticism, nor with the difficult-to-conceal yawn of the Soviet intellectual."²⁶

Speaking about the relationship between Lithuanian cultural memory and this "foreign-ness" observed by Kuolys, we can see in Lithuanian culture, even from the time of the Rebirth (Atgimimas), a clearly articulated tendency to emphasize Vyduñas' affinity towards Eastern spirituality – a culture that takes no interest in or remarks on Vyduñas' roots in the German Protestant tradition and Lutheran mentality. If Vyduñas' "German-ness" is even mentioned, it is in connection with specific German cultural elements (i.e. his hymn repertoire, German expressionism, theosophy, hermeneutics, mysticism) and not as a foundational religious motivation integrated into his world-view. When it comes to Vyduñas' religious motivations, scholars undeniably ascribe this role to the Indian context. And even if Vyduñas' religiosity is discussed separately from Indian spirituality, he remains abstract, lacking any recognizable markers of individual identity, a generalized manifestation of many religions. This creates the impression that Vyduñas' religious identity formed only after he began studying at universities in German where he became acquainted with theosophy, Hinduism, and other religious source works; that up until that point he had only held general, abstract political and religious views. And so when thinking about the "foreign" in the case of Vyduñas' from the point of view of post-Soviet reception, we must recognize

²⁶ Kuolys, "Vyduño mokytojo tiesos," 16.

a certain characteristic focus: the Indian East adapted as Lithuanian or universal humanity. At the same time, the other side of Vyduñas' religious identity – the German-Lutheran mentality – has not been taken into consideration as an influence on Vyduñas' understanding and reception of Hindu spirituality.

If this study manages to capture a certain problem in the reception of Vyduñas, namely a tendency towards ignoring the role of German-Protestant culture, then our conclusion acquires an unexpected currency, not only in the context of how Vyduñas is received now but also when examining the particularities of the development of Lithuanian cultural memory and its relationship to the "other" or the "foreign". Recalling that first and foremost the conception of identity in Lithuania is dependent on the Lithuanian language and the Catholic church, and knowing that Lithuanian language and literature developed specifically thanks to the East-Prussian Lutherans, that its essential impulse is derived from "the other" or "the foreign" (i.e. a German-Protestant cultural context), we cannot help but note a very particular paradox: the cultural stratum that provided the opportunity for the development of self-hood, which cannot be seen as "local" or "native", is most often either not noticed at all or simply ignored. The reasons behind this phenomenon should really be the focus of a separate study.

Translated by MEDEINĖ TRIBINEVIČIUS

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The Value of the Contemporary Lithuanian Novel as a Struggle in the Literary Field

NERIJUS BRAZAUSKAS

The main aim of this article is to analyze the value of the contemporary Lithuanian novel of the first decade of the twenty-first century as a struggle in the literary field. The main problem of this research is related to these questions: How to analyze the discourse of value? How to envisage a mechanism of the construction of value? Aiming to solve this problem, I borrowed two interdisciplinary intellectual ideas to construct my methodological background – the theory of the *field* by Pierre Bourdieu and Manuel Castells's conception of three different forms of identity.

Pierre Bourdieu defined the field in his studies *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (1994) and *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (1996).

Field. What do I mean by 'field'? As I use the term, a field is a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy. The existence of the writer, as fact and as value, is inseparable from the existence of the literary field as an autonomous universe endowed with

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specific principles of evaluation of practices and works. [...] In fact, the invention of the writer, in the modern sense of the term, is inseparable from the progressive invention of a particular social game, which I term the *literary field* and which is constituted as it establishes its autonomy, that is to say, its specific laws of functioning, within the field of power.¹

Summarizing Bourdieu's theory of the field, I want to emphasize that he proposed an archetypical genesis and structure of the cultural/literary field, but some elements have been changed and, first of all, today we have a new agent, a new writer. To analyze this new agent, we actualize Castells's theory of identity.

Manuel Castells, in his study, *The Power of Identity*, formulates: "Identity is people's source of meaning and experience."² Castells proposes three forms of collective identities:

Legitimizing identity: introduced by the dominant institutions of society to extend and rationalize their domination *vis à vis* social actors, a theme that is at the heart of Sennett's theory of authority and domination, but also fits with various theories of nationalism.

Resistance identity: generated by those actors who are in positions/conditions devalued and/or stigmatized by the logic of domination, thus building trenches of resistance and survival on the basis of principles different from, or opposed to, those permeating the institutions of society [...].

Project identity: when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by so doing, seek the transformation of overall social structure.³

¹ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 162–163.

² Castells, *The Power of Identity*, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, 8.

As we see from these definitions, Castells is referring to the identities of societies, but I think that we can apply this conception to the field of literature and to the identities of writers.

I propose a hypothesis that the issue of value(s) is a complex question both of field (agent(s), *situs*, capital(s)⁴, *habitus*⁵, etc.) and of the construction of identity. Actually, the question of identity isn't very important to Bourdieu; his discussion focuses more on social structures, on social identity, on the idea that "[t]o think in terms of field is to *think relationally*."⁶ Meanwhile, the writers of the twenty-first century are not the writers of the nineteenth century because they have a very significant sense of identity.

Analyzing contemporary Lithuanian novels, I separated out three groups of novelists. On the other hand, I also paid my attention to the history of the field and to the creative biogra-

⁴ "Capital" is one of the important notions in Bourdieu's conception. The main capital are: "economic capital" (money, stocks, shares, property), "cultural capital" (knowledge, skills and other cultural competences), "social capital" (actual or virtual resources present in social space), and "symbolic capital" (prestige, authority or honor). Bourdieu metacritically reflects: "I have shown that *capital presents itself under three fundamental species* (each with its own subtypes), namely, economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital [...]. To these we must add symbolic capital, which is the form that one or another of these species takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that *recognize* its specific logic or, if you prefer, *misrecognize* the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation." Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 118–119.

⁵ Defining the conception of *habitus*, Bourdieu explains: "To speak of *habitus* is to assert that the individual, and even the personal, the subjective, is social, collective. *Habitus* is a socialized subjectivity." Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 126. In Bourdieu's theory, *habitus* is a set of convictions which determines thinking, behavior, requirements, and creation. *Habitus* is a structure which helps to choose disposition in position space.

⁶ Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, 96.

phies of the authors, because, as Bourdieu showed very clearly, a literary/cultural field is, first of all, a historical formation.

Novelists' "Cultural Capital": A Struggle with Genre

The literary field of the first decade of the twenty-first century was obviously affected by previous cultural tradition; some writers had already written books, won some literary prizes, and gained some renown. These include writers such as Romualdas Granauskas (1939–2014), Sigitas Parulskis (b. 1965), and Gintaras Grajauskas (b. 1966). I have chosen these particular authors because they show one typical strategy which might be called: "The turn to the novel using a legitimizing identity with cultural capital." Granauskas was one of the most famous short-story writers in Soviet Lithuania. His book of novellas and short stories, *Duonos valgytojai* (The Bread Eaters, 1975), and the novella *Gyvenimas po klevu* (Life Under a Maple Tree, 1988) are classical realistic works on the life and existence of a farmer.

In 2003, he suddenly published his first novel *Duburys* (A Waterhole) and a second novel *Kenotafas* (Cenotaph) in 2005. The novel *A Waterhole* is a story about a man from the Soviet period and his life experiences. This realistic novel was, in my opinion, an unsuccessful attempt at writing a novel. The writer created an unmotivated preface, the descriptions of the milieu shaded the hero's inner life, the erotic love was artificial, and the slang did not perform its function. I think that Granauskas explicitly exploited his name, and his publisher Valentinas Sventickas wrote on the fourth cover of the book that the novel is "[...] interesting, emotional, simple, movingly simple."⁷ The publisher made use of the writer's previous reputation, which, in the consciousness of the readers, was identified not with the novel but with the mentioned short stories and novellas.

⁷ Granauskas, *Duburys*, ketvirtasis viršelis (the fourth cover).

The *Cenotaph* was an attempt to write a "novel about a novel," but the metafictional discourse was overwhelmed by images of Lithuanian postwar realities. The publisher also emphasized that Granauskas is one of the best-known Lithuanian authors and that he created a monument to postwar teachers. Granauskas's agent – the Lithuanian Writers' Union Publishing House – understood that: "One of the central stakes in literary (etc.) rivalries is [...] the monopoly of the power to say with authority [...] who is a writer and who has the authority to say who is a writer."⁸ In Granauskas's case, the question of the value of the novel itself wasn't important because its "value" was identified with the author.

Sigitas Parulskis was originally a poet, playwright, and essayist. Parulskis's books of modernistic poetry *Iš ilgesio visa tai* (All That Out of Longing, 1990), and *Mirusiuju* (Of the Dead, 1994) earned him the name of a poet. In 2002, he produced his first novel, *Trys sekundės dangaus* (Three Seconds of Heaven), a novel of a modernistic form and postmodernistic thought and cynicism, which is close to the German philosopher Peter Sloterdijk's conception: "Cynicism is *enlightened false consciousness*."⁹ His main protagonist has experienced life as a Soviet Army soldier, has an understanding of world culture, and has become distanced from traditional Lithuanian values. It was a masterfully written story of a generation, and Parulskis won the Lithuanian Writers' Union Prize in 2004.

But the appreciation wasn't entirely uniform. Literary critic Renata Baltrušaitytė wrote a negative review in 2003 and Parulskis became very angry. This situation revealed the habitus of Parulskis and inspired some serious reflection, not about the novel, but about the status of any author. As an answer, Parulskis wrote the article "The Funny Critique," and said: "I will pretend the problem of critique and evaluation is

⁸ Bourdieu, *The Rules of Art*, 224.

⁹ Sloterdijk, *Critique of Cynical Reason*, 5.

important to me.”¹⁰ Later, this novel was reissued three times and translated into German, Italian, and Latvian. The novel’s success could be explained by its artistic value, i.e., by the writer’s talent. Parulskis’s case shows that “[b]y being well situated – and writers or artists have no choice but to situate themselves – writers distinguish themselves, even without searching for distinction.”¹¹

Gintaras Grajauskas is another established poet, essay writer, and playwright. He was awarded prizes for the poetry books *Tatuiruotė* (Tattoo, 1993) and *Kaulinė dūdelė* (Bone Pipe, 1999). In 2004, he published his first novel, *Erezija* (Heresy). Grajauskas created an intertextual parody of the past in his work. More precisely, he used a historiographical source – the text “Jeronimo Prahiškio pasakojimas” (A Narrative by Jeronimas Prahiškis, 1477) – that presents images of pagan Lithuania from the fifteenth century. The novelist freely interprets this text and creates a modern thriller. The protagonist “became a murderer. He was a contemporary, postmodern, multi-edition-al Raskolnikov.”¹² But this novel was an unsuccessful attempt to write a novel. Why? I think Grajauskas went from the “field of restricted production” (as a poet) to the “large-scale field” (as a prose writer) and wrote for a mass audience.

Bernard Lahire and Gwendolyn Wells have defined this situation:

We could therefore wonder whether the same individuals can produce works that occupy different positions within the literary game, whether they can come from the sector of restricted production and go toward the sector of large-scale production and vice versa, or whether they can simultaneously produce works belonging to different sectors of the universe in question. This would reveal the entire range of practices of the liter-

¹⁰ Parulskis, “Juokingoji kritika” (The Funny Critique).

¹¹ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 184.

¹² Grajauskas, *Erezija*, 45.

ary double life (often with authors' use of pseudonyms), whereby some writers may simultaneously produce personal works of literature and other works, for example, "mass-market" literature or even practical literature, to make money.¹³

Grajauskas's hero says: "[...] A writer? Oh, it's a great skill. Professionalism – undoubtedly. [...] You know: work is ninety-nine percent of it. That's what kind of craft it is."¹⁴ At the same time, the writer criticizes spirituality and his character notes: "It's hardly a pleasure to play spiritual carrion all life long."¹⁵ Grajauskas has not written any more novels since. His struggle with the genre of novel was unsuccessful and he understood his position must be poetry and drama. Grajauskas chose the position of art for art's sake and the legitimizing identity, and his case shows the opposition between 'commercial' and 'non-commercial' art.

All these cases suggest that if you have the "cultural capital," i.e., readers who know your creative works, you can experiment with other literary genres, styles, and even identities. But you can't radically change your position in the field because any transformation is a question of an understanding of art and of value too. These novelists tried to legitimize their positions and expand the field of literature. "Legitimizing identity" is an identity of the dominating (writers, publishers, and critics) and is based on both "cultural" and "symbolic" capitals.

Novelists with Neither Names nor Works: A Struggle for "Economic Capital"

A history of the Lithuanian literary field proclaims that a writer is an exceptional person whose inspiration led him/her

¹³ Lahire and Wells, "The Double Life of Writers," 445.

¹⁴ Grajauskas, *Erezija*, 202.

¹⁵ Ibid., 203.

to create for the homeland. This situation radically changed, in a novel case, when the so-called "journalistic novel" blossomed in 2004.

Let us see the positions of such representative authors as Ugnė Barauskaitė (b. 1972), Undinė Radzevičiūtė (b. 1967), and Audronė Urbonaitė (b. 1954). I have chosen these particular authors because they show the other typical strategy which might be called: "The turn to economic capital with a resistance identity."

Ugnė Barauskaitė's debut novel, *O rytoj vėl reikės gyventi* (And Tomorrow We'll Have to Go On), was published in 2002, but the most famous was her second novel, *Dešimt* (Ten, 2005). This novel earned her fame and was very popular among readers. Why? The main theme is displayed on the book cover: the process of pregnancy, which was reflected on and presented by one woman during a ten-month period (according to the Moon calendar). It is a simple, realistic text that presents how a pregnant woman feels and thinks. The readers easily recognized themselves and their own experiences.

The author actively participated in official literary discussions, explained her position, and discussed bestsellers. She noted: "A sober point of view emerges that there's a market, too, and then it's not just your ideals, thoughts and genius that are important. There's the market, and there's money."¹⁶ She was bravely in opposition to "elite" art, critics, and official literary institutions. Barauskaitė's system of dispositions is more important than the text itself. She chose a counter-position and pointed out that financial aspects are as important as the artistic and aesthetic aspects of a work. The habitus, market, and theme were her main guns, and she accentuated discourses that had never been popular in Lithuanian literature before.

¹⁶ Pokalbis: "Jaunųjų rašytojų situacija: ryšiai ir atotrūkiai" (A Conversation: The Situation of Young Writers), 90.

Undinė Radzevičiūtė is another novelist. In 2003, she published a short novel *Strekaza* (Dragonfly) consisting of one hundred and one short stories. Black humor, elements of the absurd, and irony characterize the narration. The novel is composed of fragments from the heroine's everyday life (she works in radio), and they are quite well written. Bourdieu maintains that the "[w]orks produced by the field of restricted production are 'pure', 'abstract' and 'esoteric.'¹⁷ *Dragonfly* could be described as 'pure' production because it demands "of the receiver a specifically aesthetic disposition in accordance with the principles of their production."¹⁸ In the case of *Dragonfly*, the reader must read the novel according to the rules of the author (the order of reading, questions, intertexts, etc.). For example, the reader must recognize Damien Hirst's art book from this entry: "I want to spend the rest of my life everywhere, with everyone, one to one, always, forever, now..."¹⁹

The positions Radzevičiūtė takes are related to her principled standpoint in regard to language. She has stated that she never loved language or "The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language," which she viewed as a threat to her novel. Her short stories are written in Lithuanian, English, and Russian; slang is used very often too. Radzevičiūtė resisted the rules of language and took up a position as a player in the literary field. Her commercial success was grounded on both her dispositions and her publisher's publicity campaign.

Audronė Urbonaitė is another author of this group, a newspaper journalist who wrote a novel made up of short stories, *Posūkyje – neišlėk* (Don't Cut the Turn too Tight, 2005). This loosely autobiographical, auto-ironic, realistic novel was an attempt to make a name in the literary field. Representing the everyday life of her protagonist, the author presents the idea:

¹⁷ Ibid., 120.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Radzevičiūtė, *Strekaza*, 66.

"You can't create a thing more valuable than life itself."²⁰ Her heroine, like the author in reality, fights against uterus cancer. Moreover, the author/heroine included a story of her first sexual experience with her father. It was a tactical, not an artistic decision to include it, and readers attributed the experience to the author. The scandalous theme of incest hadn't been used in Lithuanian literature before, and interest in this theme contributed to the novel's popularity.

The secret of the success of a "journalistic novel," a useful position for a player to take in the field of literature, can be explained by the discourse of popular culture, which, according to John Fiske, is "[...] the active process of generating and circulating meanings and pleasures within a social system."²¹ All of the mentioned novels are "popular texts," all the authors had a "resistance identity" that helped to get "economic capital," but the present shows that this victory was rather temporal, given the lack of academic acknowledgement. "Resistance identity" is the identity of the dominated who want to change their status and is based on "economic capital."

Novelists with "Symbolic Capital": A Struggle for Transformation of the Literary Field

The third group of novelists, which includes Jurgis Kunčinas (1947–2002), Leonardas Gutauskas (b. 1938), and Ričardas Gavelis (1950–2002), had strong positions in the literary field. In Soviet times, they had published poetry or short stories, but they didn't publish novels at all. They became famous writers when they started publishing novels between 1990 and 2000. Let us see the positions and identities of the mentioned authors. I have chosen these particular authors

²⁰ Urbonaitė, *Posūkyje – neišlėk*, 23.

²¹ Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 19.

because they show one exceptional strategy which might be called: "The turn to transformation of the literary field with a project identity having symbolic capital." Kunčinas was a poet, novelist, essayist, and translator. During the period mentioned, he published four novels and was established as a master of narration and the owner of a unique style. The novel *Tūla* (1993) was one of his works; it is a modernistic novel about love, time and death, a story that gives priority to imagination, to the narration of "magical realism." The hero of this novel reflects:

That was the first time I flew to you as a bat, Tūla, without even knowing whether I'd find you at home or whether you still lived next to the Vilna River. I flapped my webbed wings, obeying entirely new instincts; I felt the never-before-experienced giddiness of flight and rose higher. I flew above the Butterflies Cemetery – from above, the frost on the grass looked like a white shroud...²²

This novel is "high" literature, art for art's sake, produced without consideration of economic capital, and it was a risky decision. Why? When the novel was published, documentary literature such as the memoir dominated the literary field. Lithuanian readers were accustomed to reading realistic novels, but the power of the field – the Union of Lithuanian Writers – decided to award this novel. "The work of art," said Bourdieu, "is an object which exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art."²³ The writer's colleagues recognized this novel, but the readers found it later. Kunčinas said: "Usually good literature is slightly tedious and not everyone can master it."²⁴ As we see, valuable litera-

²² *The Dedalus Book of Lithuanian Literature*, 163.

²³ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 35.

²⁴ Kunčinas, "Žvilgsnai Dievop" (Sights to God), 184.

ture is "serious" literature for Kunčinas. On the other hand, authenticity was a synonym of quality for the novelist.

Gutauskas is a poet, novelist, and painter. In Soviet times, he published poetry books for children. In 1990–1997, he published a trilogy of novels, the first of which, *Vilko dantų karoliai* (A Necklace of Wolf's Teeth), is a metaphysical work on memory, soul, and the secrets of art.

Later, he took a new position, and started writing short novels of fictional artistic based both on the mythology and reality of Soviet Lithuania. These novels were: *Šešėliai* (Shadows, 2001); *Laiškai iš Viešvilės* (Letters from Viešvilė, 2001); and *Plunksnos; Kazbek: romanai* (Feathers; Kazbek: Novels, 2003). These novels show that Gutauskas's position is that of art for art's sake. On the other hand, these novels revealed that Gutauskas understood that a contemporary reader doesn't like to read long novels, so he transformed the size of his novels, but basically he abided by his artistic and aesthetic principles. For example, he developed a metaphysical theme of life and death, used the techniques of inner monologue, stream of consciousness, and intertexts.

Ričardas Gavelis was a prose writer and playwright. In Soviet times, he wrote books of short stories, for example, *Neprasidėjusi šventė* (The Celebration That Has Not Begun, 1976) and *Nubaustieji* (The Punished, 1987), which were well-received by critics. However, Gavelis became famous after publishing his novel *Vilnius Poker* (1989), which, in the words of one critic, was a breakthrough in Lithuanian prose. What did Gavelis do in fact? He wrote a modernistic novel reflecting the traces of communistic ideology in the souls and bodies of Lithuanians. He described life as a game: "Our life is an endless game of Vilnius Poker; its cards are shuffled and dealt by a scornfully grimacing death."²⁵ This metaphor says peo-

²⁵ Gavelis, *Vilnius Poker*, 459.

ple were simulacra. But Gavelis added the deconstruction of national symbols, myths, and values, and explicitly described sexual relations, and the resulting reaction got the general reader interested.

He struggled not only against the field of power but also against traditions of novel writing, and that reveals his habitus. He wrote a meta-reflexive article, "Anti-demiurge, or what is Vilnius Poker?" (1990). As Bourdieu points out, "Each author, school or work which makes its mark displaces the whole series of earlier authors, schools or works."²⁶ Gavelis strongly criticized the technique of novel-writing in the context of the Western tradition, discussed the possibility of inventing a new model for the novel, and postulated a phenomenological point of view. He noted that the novel must emphasize discrepancies and multiplicity.

These features are characteristic of his other novels, *Paskutinioji Žemės žmonių karta* (The Last Generation of People on Earth, 1995), *Prarastų godų kvartetas* (The Quartet of Lost Hopes, 1997), and *Septyni savižudybės būdai* (Seven Ways to Commit Suicide, 1999) because they were designed for a mass audience. In other words, Gavelis turned from the field of "restricted production" to the field of "large-scale production." In Lahire's terms, he started practicing the literary double life. Gavelis's habitus changed, and it transformed his position. He wrote for the mass taste but, paradoxically, he didn't want to be famous or recognizable anymore. So, the novelist replaced one type of capital with another; however, the "symbolic capital" remained important to him.

All these cases show that novelists with "symbolic capital" tried to modify the field of literature in various ways. Kunčinas and Gutauskas strove to return to a conception of art for art's sake but did that only through their creative works.

²⁶ Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, 60.

Gavelis criticized the traditional model of the novel and wrote the mentioned theoretical article. All of the authors were very creative persons and "symbolic capital" was the most important for them. "Project identity" is the identity of those who are between the dominating and the dominated and is based on the "symbolic" capital. These novelists would affirm that Rita Felski was right when she claimed: "I venture that aesthetic value is inseparable from use, but also that our engagements with texts are extraordinarily varied, complex, and often unpredictable in kind."²⁷

Thoughts for Further Investigations

- 1) A struggle implicitly has a symbolic form, but explicitly it has concrete strategies which depend upon writers, critics, publishers, and other agents. All strive to win, i. e., to occupy their own position in social-cultural space which isn't just an economic world turned upside down.
- 2) The novelists who have "cultural capital" (Granauskas, Parulskis, and Grajauskas) created and published novels for their well-known readers. Their cultural capital, features of their texts, and the marketing strategies used to sell the books could be seen as the utilization of a "legitimizing identity." It allows turning to the genre of novel (Parulskis).
- 3) The novelists who were debutants (Barauskaitė, Radzevičiūtė, and Urbonaitė) had to fight for a foothold in the literary field, had to create their works, and take positions. These authors embraced the domination of popular culture, autobiographical discourse, and journalistic experience. They wanted to save up "economic capital". The identities they created in the literary field were "resistance identities" because they resisted against the dominating structure of the cultural field.

²⁷ Felski, *Uses of Literature*, 8.

4) The novelists who have employed "symbolic capital" (Kunčinas, Gutauskas, and Gavelis) created and published new novels and this process was dual: firstly, they authentically tried to take new positions in the literary field, and, secondly, they attempted to transform the field of literature. Kunčinas was a follower of the conception of art for art's sake, Gavelis trimmed between "high" and "popular" literatures. All of the authors were creative persons and their new novels and positions could be read as a "project identity."

5) It is very important to emphasize that the field of literature, capital, position, and identity are not a stable discourse. It always is in relation to other discourses; it always is a matter of the author as a social-cultural being; it always is a problematic area in which the value(s) of literature, value(s) of the creator, value(s) of the readers, and value(s) of cultural productions, etc. clash. But in any case value is a process, not a result.

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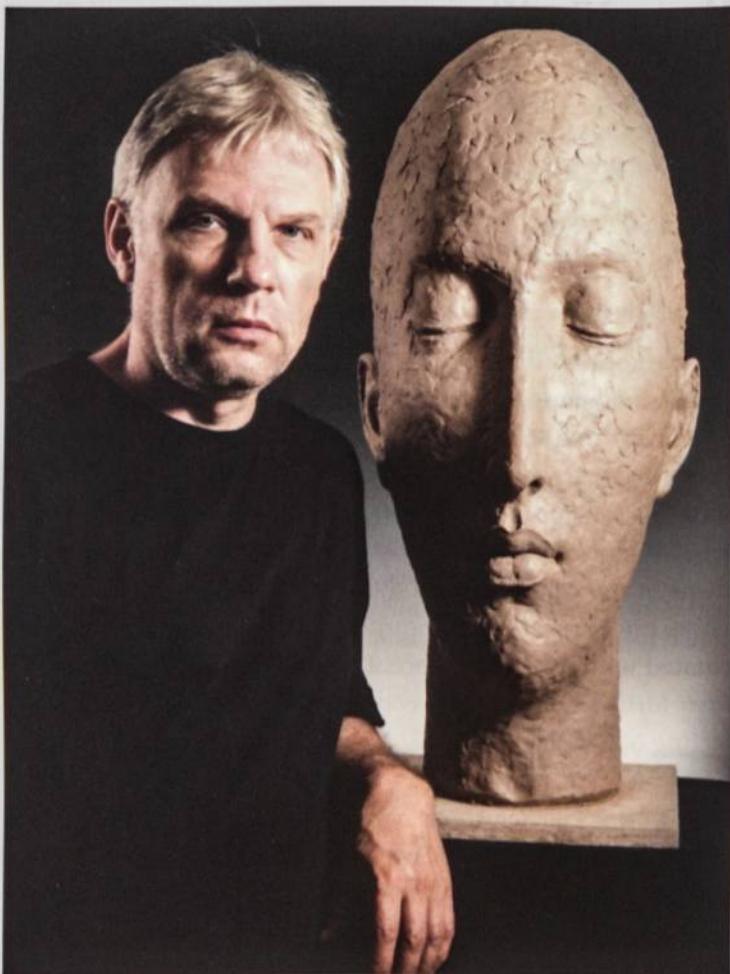
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Kostas Ulevičius

To paraphrase his artist's statement, "Art for me is the freedom to rearrange visual elements, the ability to make the imaginary into the real through the process of working with clay. I have always had an interest in the human figure and how artists approached portrait sculpture throughout the ages. When I came to the USA, the teapot was a popular element in the ceramic arena and I used that popularity to involve my interest in the figure. Recently, I have become fascinated with the human face. I simplify and elongate the human form while creating contemplative pieces that evoke a feeling of history."

Kostas Ulevičius was born in Kaunas, Lithuania in 1961. He attended J. Jablonskis Secondary School in Kaunas and finished his education in ceramics at the Lithuanian Academy of Art in Vilnius. For a short period, he served as Assistant Professor of Art in Kaunas before immigrating to the United States in 1989. He launched his ceramic career from a base in Chicago, gaining prominence and establishing himself in the field through juried art fairs, curated exhibitions, and juried exhibitions. In 1995, he and his family relocated to St. Petersburg, Florida where he maintains a studio. He was artist in resident at Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, IL and at the prestigious Clay Studio in Philadelphia, PA. Kostas has exhibited his work from coast to coast in galleries from California



Kostas Ullevičius and Morpheus, 2013, stoneware, glaze, 25" x 10" x 12".

in the West to Philadelphia and Boston in the East. In 2000, he exhibited work in, "The Sixth Golden Ceramics Award" at the Yingge Ceramics Museum in Taiwan.

Professor Rimas Tadas VisGirda, arts editor, writer, and internationally recognized ceramic artist, resides in Champaign, IL.

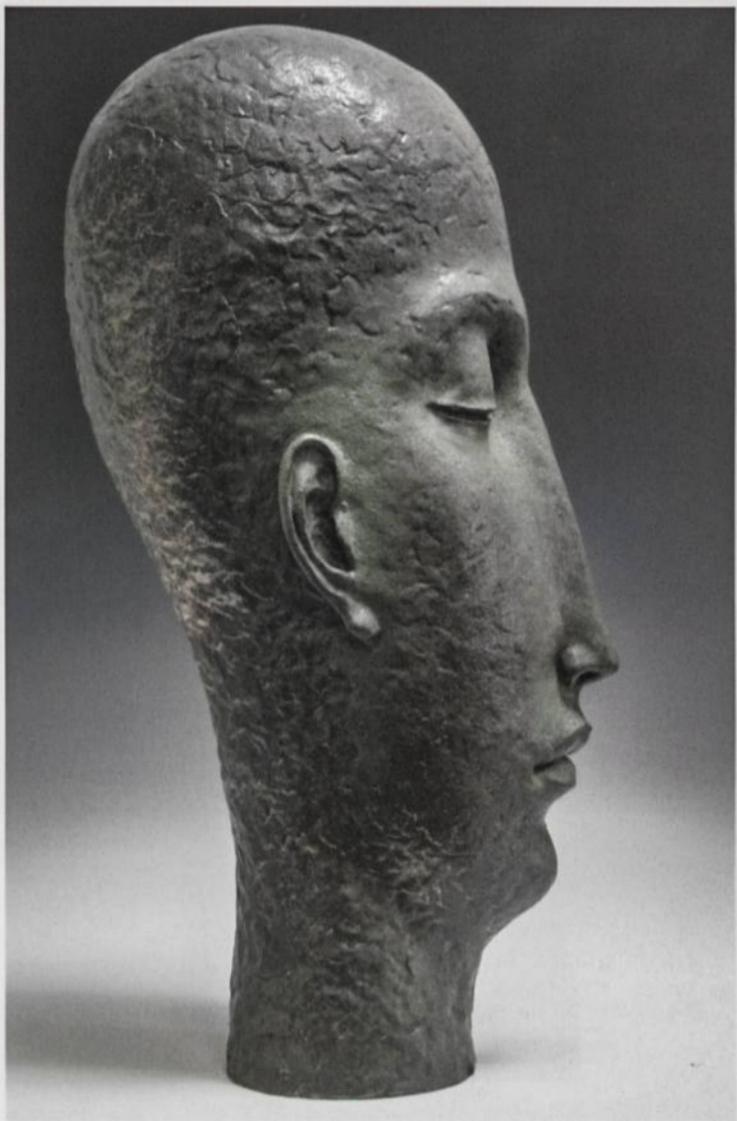


Fig 9 *Adonis*, 2015, Stoneware, glaze, 33" x 10" x 14".



Kronos, front, 2014, stoneware, glaze, 32" x 14" x 9".

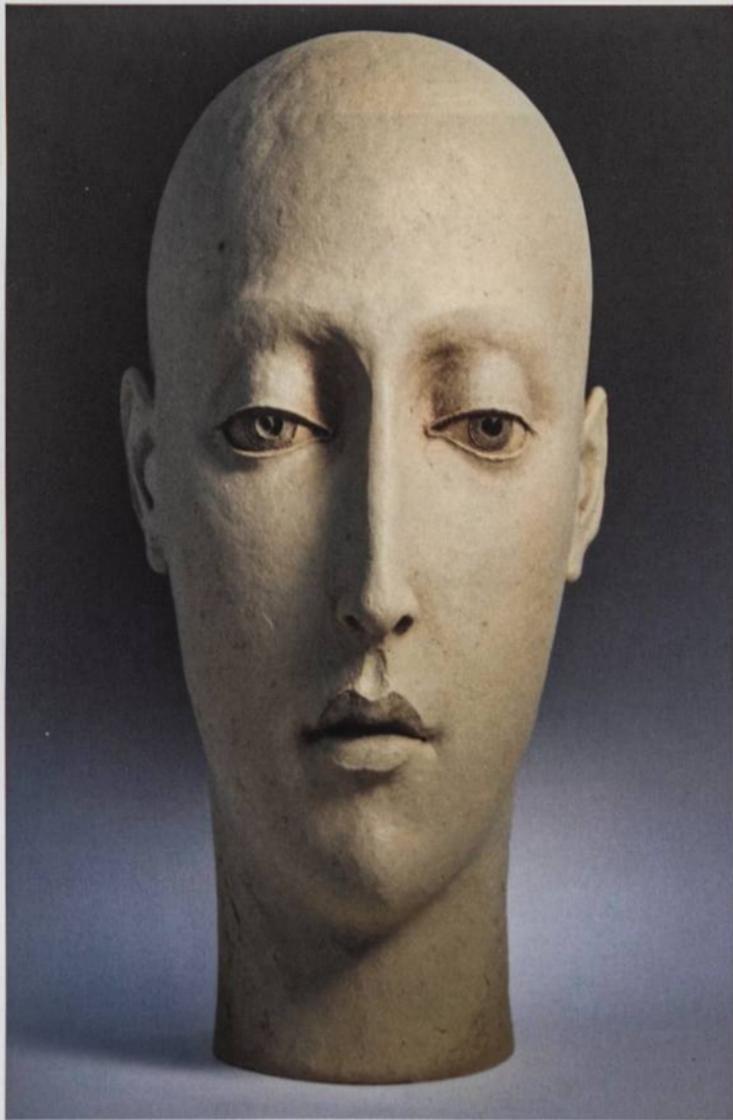
Professor Helmut Telesh Vičenčić, arts editor, writer, and historian
Honored recognized ceramic artist, resides in Champaign, IL.



Kronos, side, 2014, stoneware, glaze, 32" x 14" x 9".



Helios, 2012, stoneware, glaze, 26" x 13" x 13".



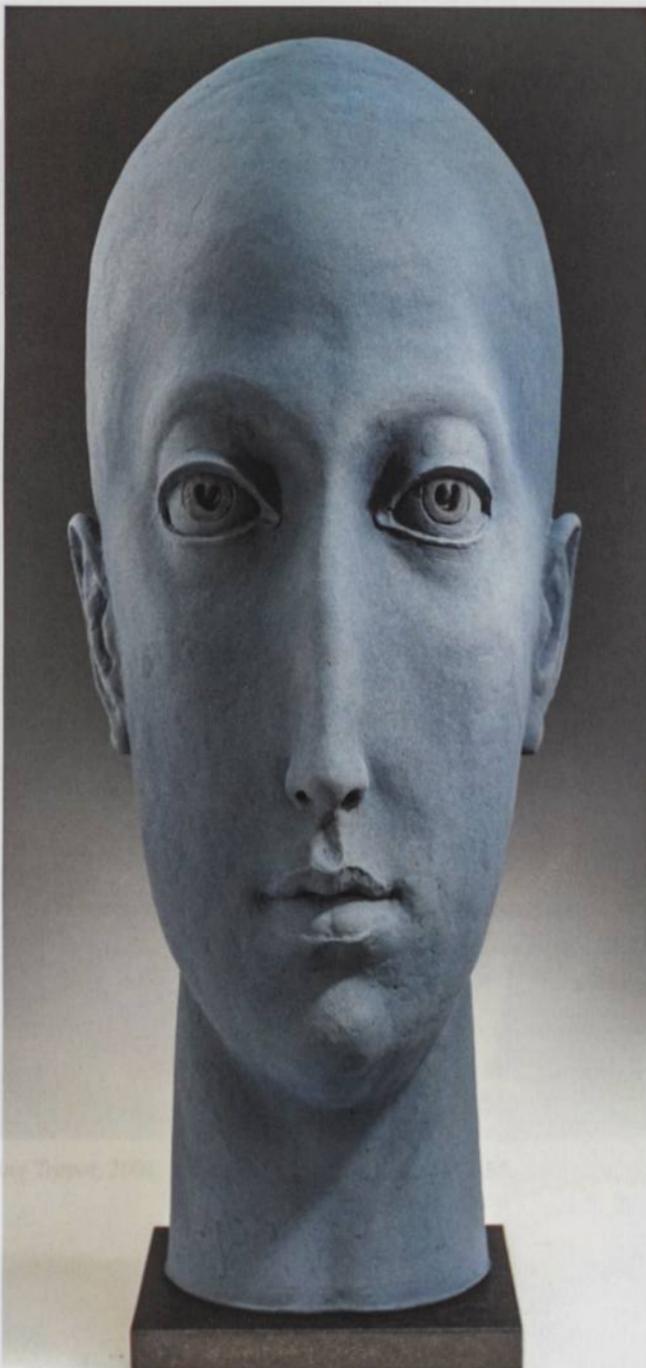
Eyes Wide Open, 2013, stoneware, glaze, 26" x 13" x 14".



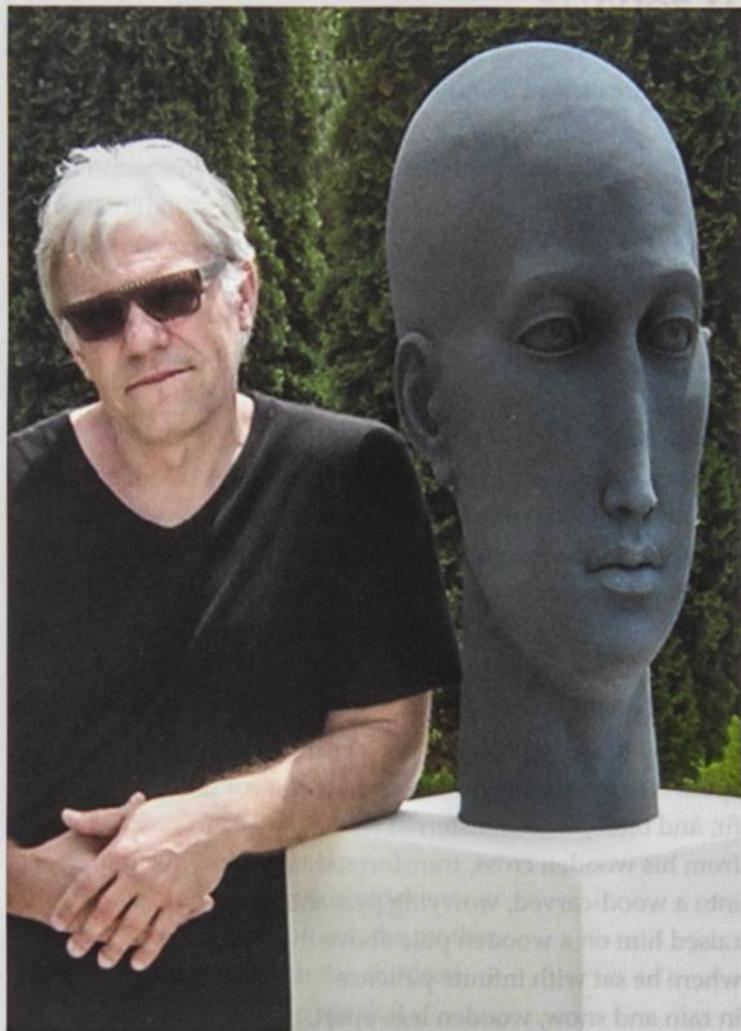
Running Teapot, 2001, stoneware, porcelain, 12" x 9" x 5".



Incognito Angel, 2004, stoneware, porcelain, 6" x 15" x 5".



Ramona Troyna, 2000



*Kostas Ulevičius and Blue Adonis II, 2015,
stoneware, glaze, 29" x 11" x 13".*

Outside the elegant blue and red houses of the old town, the streets and alleys of the new town are filled with the immigrants who have come to the city to work and live. They are re-baptized "blue-eyed men" – *azul-olhos* – from the city of Hilversum, the capital of the Netherlands.

Blue Adonis, 2015, stoneware, glaze, 33" x 10" x 14" (left).

AL ZOLYNAS

ONE MORE ATTEMPT AT SELF-DEFINITION

I come from a tribe of nature worshippers,
pantheists, believers in fairies, forest sprites, and wood nymphs,
who heard devils in their windmills,
met them in the woods, cloven-hoofed
and dapper gentlemen of the night,
who named the god of thunder,
who praised and glorified bread, dark rye waving
waist-high out of the earth,
and held it sacred, wasting not a crumb, who
spent afternoons mushrooming in forests of pine,
fir, and birch, who transferred Jesus
from his wooden cross, transformed him
into a wood-carved, worrying peasant,
raised him on a wooden pole above the crossroads
where he sat with infinite patience
in rain and snow, wooden legs apart,
wooden elbows on wooden knees,
wooden chin in wooden hand,
worrying and sorrowing for the world. . . .
these people who named their sons and daughters
after amber, rue, fir tree, dawn, storm,
and the only people I know who have a diminutive
form for God Himself--"God-my-little-buddy."

Any wonder I catch myself speaking
to trees, flowers, bushes--these eucalyptus so far
from Eastern Europe--or that I bend down to the earth,
gather pebbles, acorns, leaves, boles, bring
them home, enshrine them on mantelpieces or above
porcelain fixtures in corners, any wonder
I grow nervous in rooms
and must step outside and touch a tree,
or sink my toes in the dirt, or watch the birds fly by.

GROWING UP DOUBLE

At the end of their refugee journey,
the long forced pilgrimage, burdened
with the smallest and heaviest bundles,
they settle at last, uneasily,
in the wounded heart of a city
or its distant fringes beyond
the fashionable and complacent suburbs.

The small children learn
the unspoken rules of a double life:
Here, in the father's domain,
the old ways are preserved: chickens
slaughtered in the back yard, the mother
tongue enforced, though the children
are already beginning to speak it
with strange new accents
that grate on their parents' ears.

Outside the father's door,
in the streets and schoolyards of the new world,
the immigrant children soon speak like locals,
are re-baptized

by their new friends with new names.
They will respond to two names,
will carry them both
for separate occasions.

In the homes of their new playmates,
they see what they never see under their own roofs—
animals treated like people (dogs
and cats at table), or possessions
treated with indifference
by those who never had to turn their backs
and walk quickly away
with only the suddenly precious
contents of their own pockets.

To be human, of course, is to adjust
to almost anything, and the children grow
into their double lives
gracefully and easily.
After all, it may not be
that much more difficult
to cultivate two identities than one—and
in the end, even
a little easier to see through.

THE WESTERN FELT WORKS
EARLY 1960s IN THE MANIC INDUSTRIAL HEART OF
CHICAGO'S SOUTHSIDE

—for Vic Gudaitis

Three infernal summers spent among the torturous itch
of wool fibers, skin-eating, rash-raising acids,
and labor-bent men and women resigned
to death-in-life; I was the cocky college kid

who knew he could walk out the gate for another year—
eventually forever—just before Labor Day weekend.

My first summer there, my father's friend, Vic—
may his soul rest in peace—was my mentor and partner
on the fulling machine.

We stood opposite each other across the machine's open pit
with its endlessly tumbling yards of balled-up felt, pounded by
the fulling hammers—the racing thump of the industrial heart
measuring out the finite beats of its own passing.

The two of us, like some parody of a domestic couple working
with
laundered bed sheets, stretched the felt between us, pulling
the soapy, acidic creases out of the edges as thousands of feet
of fulled felt rolled up and out and coiled onto the turning
spindle above our heads spraying us with acid drops
as heavy as any summer shower.

At the end of that first day, I was sure my fingerprints had
worn off.

Later, in the cutting department, I saw workers sacrifice
fingers to machines
that stamped gaskets and washers out of the hard,
dry felt sheets.

This was Hell, I thought, Dante's Inferno (which I'd been
studying in
European Lit.) These people were damned and so was
I, but only

to a summer's Purgatory: I would walk away with fat pockets, my youth intact, unbroken by machines and the dreadful hours of overtime, nothing but prospects ahead down the long, leisurely road of my dazzling life.

Looking back, I see Vic, the one who showed me what it meant to transcend by going through resignation. He was calm, if not joyful, stoic—a survivor. I see him clearly now, thirty years later, eating his one lunch sandwich, made by himself in his lonely kitchen, chewing deliberately, sipping coffee, later smoking his one Lucky Strike.

To him, raised on back-breaking farm work—plowing, sowing, scything fields of rye by hand late into the night—who had made it through the War, had suffered through untold dislocations and privations—cartings off to Siberian Camps, hunger, the deaths of wife and parents—what was a little factory work, a little labor here at the tail-end of the Industrial Age, day in and day out, for the rest of his short life?

THE WESTERN-ESTABLISHED, GOING-ALL-IN, DEDICATED,
EARLY-ARRIVED-IN-TO THE MANIC INDUSTRIAL HEART OF
CHICAGO'S, BRIEFLY, SO-MADE-IN-HIS-STRUGGLES BEGINNERS-TO
—FOR, HEFFERDINNIB

Three, is still, a sturdy original, strong, a good girl of wood, growing, eating, rest, raising seeds, and labor, to be, abundantly, a wretched, snarled, (did me good to death, friend, was the cocky college kid)

Archaic Features in the Sound System of Present-Day Lithuanian

ALFRED BAMMESBERGER

Introduction

In Comparative Indo-European linguistics, Lithuanian plays a major role. Many features of the proto-language can be evidenced by language material still used in present-day Lithuanian. This is particularly true of the nominal system. A few instances will illustrate the point. The comparative material will generally be taken from the related languages that are most widely known, that is Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek, with an occasional reference to Germanic; the comparative material is available in Zinkevičius.¹ The notion of "Indo-European" is grounded in the observation that a number of languages exhibit such deep-cutting structural agreements that they must necessarily represent the offshoots of a common "mother" language. In line with the image of the genealogical family tree of languages, the descendent languages are called "daughter" languages. The importance of the daughter language Lithuanian

¹ See Zinkevičius, *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika I*, *Lietuvių kalbos istorinė gramatika II*.

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for reconstructing the mother language Indo-European will be discussed with reference to mainly one particular feature in the sound system and the repercussions this feature had in the grammatical makeup of the language. For the linguistic background, Mayrhofer² provides all the essential information.

Lithuanian Nouns and Verbs

For a noun like *vilkas* 'wolf', Lithuanian distinguishes seven cases in active use. Of the three numbers, the dual (meaning 'two entities') is rather rare. For this reason, only singular and plural will be quoted. The substantive *vilkas* 'wolf' goes back to a reconstructed form of Indo-European **wlkwos* (/l/ in interconsonantal position had the function of a vowel), which has cognates in a number of individual IE languages, such as Sanskrit *vrkas*, Greek *lúkos*, Latin *lupus*, and English *wolf*.

	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>vilkas</i>	<i>vilkai</i>
Vocative	<i>vilke</i>	<i>vilkai</i>
Genitive	<i>vilko</i>	<i>vilkų</i>
Dative	<i>vilkui</i>	<i>vilkáms</i>
Accusative	<i>vilkq</i>	<i>vilkùs</i>
Instrumental	<i>vilkù</i>	<i>vilkai</i>
Locative	<i>vilkè</i>	<i>vilkuosè</i>

Only a few forms will be singled out in order to show the position of Lithuanian within the system of comparative Indo-European grammar. Perhaps the most interesting forms from the comparative angle are the nominative and the vocative of the singular, because they both represent the underlying forms with almost no

² See Mayrhofer, *Indogermanische Grammatik*.

changes. For the vocative we reconstruct an ending **-e*, and this is immediately available in Lithuanian *vilk-e*. For the nominative we reconstruct a form ending in *-os* (compare Greek *lúkos*), and this form is immediately available in Lithuanian *-as* (with the regular sound change of *-o* > *-a*). The accusative of the singular can be reconstructed as ending in **-om* leading to **-an* in common Baltic and ultimately to *-q* in Lithuanian (*-q* shows that the vowel was formerly nasalized). The nominative of the plural in *-ai* represents an innovation against the original ending IE *-ōs* (probably to be analyzed as consisting of the thematic vowel *-o* followed by the plural marker *-es*, and **-o-es* led to **-ōs* by contraction); the Lithuanian ending *-ai* is reminiscent of Greek *-oi* in *lúkoi* 'wolves', but the development was certainly carried through independently and may have different motivations. A particularly interesting ending is that of the locative of the plural. We may assume that originally the marker for the locative of the plural was **-su*, which would follow the thematic vowel *-o*, but already Sanskrit *vrkesu* shows an innovation in this respect. In Lithuanian, the thematic vowel *-o* > *-a* was replaced by *-uo-*, which was the earlier form of *-us* in the accusative plural, and the marker for the locative of the singular, namely *-e*, replaced the final vowel of *-su*. The historical development of a form like *vilkusè* is thus rather complex.

In contrast to the nominal system, the verbal system seems to have preserved fewer of the features characteristic of Indo-European, and at first sight the impact of Lithuanian on Indo-European studies could appear rather minor in this context. If we first concentrate on a verb like Lithuanian *vèsti* 'lead', then we can give the following paradigmatic forms:

	present	preterite	future
singular 1 st person	<i>vedù</i>	<i>vedžiaū</i>	<i>vèsiu</i>
2 nd person	<i>vedì</i>	<i>vedeī</i>	<i>vèsi</i>
3 rd person	<i>vèda</i>	<i>vèdè</i>	<i>vès</i>

plural	1 st person	<i>vēdame</i>	<i>vēdēme</i>	<i>vēsime</i>
	2 nd person	<i>vēdate</i>	<i>vēdēte</i>	<i>vēsite</i>
	3 rd person	<i>vēda</i>	<i>vēdē</i>	<i>vēs</i>

The infinitive *vēsti* 'lead' points back to a *ti*-stem derived from the root IE **wedh-* 'lead': in a starting-point **wedh-ti-* the dentals were assimilated, and **wetti-* led to *vēsti* in Lithuanian by regular sound change. The present of *vēsti* belongs to the so-called thematic type. In this category, the person markers followed a verbal stem consisting of root + thematic vowel. The analysis is clearly available in 1st plural *vedame*, because this form is to be analyzed as root *ved-* + thematic vowel *-a-* (going back to IE *-o-*) + person marker *-me*. Apart from further interesting points, at least two facts must be mentioned here. First, it may be mentioned that the thematic vowel was originally *-e-* in some forms, but in Lithuanian *-a-* was generalized. What is particularly noteworthy is the peculiarity that for the 3rd person only one form is available, which functions both for the singular and the plural. This is actually to be observed in all verbal forms of Lithuanian. The preterite and the future are largely due to innovations in Baltic, but of course there were starting-points available in Indo-European on which these innovations are based. The verbal system of Lithuanian differs considerably from what we traditionally reconstruct for Proto-Indo-European. If we just look at the complex verbal system of Greek and Indic, then Lithuanian does not seem to preserve many original traits. It is not easy to give an overall explanation for this peculiarity. But one particular problem will be dealt with below.

Lithuanian Phonology

If we turn from morphology to the sound system, the picture changes a good deal. It is of course true that the pho-

nology of any language undergoes change all the time; therefore, archaic features are far more difficult to make out in this area than in what may be termed the "grammar" proper of the language. Lithuanian, a member of the Baltic group of languages, belongs to the so-called "satem" languages within the Indo-European family of languages. By this we mean that the palatal stops /k/ and /g/ appear as š and ž. The innovation can readily be noted by looking at the word for '100': Latin *centum* has initial /k/, but Lithuanian *šimtas* has initial /š/ and is in this respect comparable to Sanskrit *śatam*.

The aspirated consonants fell together with the non-aspirated ones, so that there is no distinction between IE *d and *dh etc. The so-called sonants of the type /l/ in **wlkwos* 'wolf' developed a vowel /i/ preceding the respective consonantal phoneme, and thus the noun *vilkas* resulted.

In the vowel system it is noteworthy that /a/ and /o/ fell together, therefore **wlkwos* appears as Lith. *vilkas*. These changes can be paralleled from the material of the related languages. In every single instance, the development in Lithuanian can be paralleled in one of the related languages.

Archaic Features in the Lithuanian Sound System

The remainder of this paper will be devoted to the discussion of archaic features in the sound system of Lithuanian and further implications for explaining special phenomena in the Lithuanian verbal paradigm. The Baltic languages show relatively few cases of syncope, and this means that in many concrete instances the number of syllables is comparable to what it was at the stage of Indo-European: Lithuanian *vilkas* has two syllables as we find in Greek *lúkos* and Latin *lupus*, whereas English *wolf* is monosyllabic.

The phoneme /s/ inherited from Indo-European is particularly stable in Lithuanian. Lithuanian *sausas* 'dry' goes

back to Indo-European **sausos* and is a particularly good example, because it has /s/ unchanged in initial, intervocalic, and final position. English *sear* also goes back to Indo-European **sausos* (> Germanic **sauzaz*), but only the initial /s/ is preserved, the final /-s/ is completely lost and the medial /-s-/ appears as /r/.

Since Lithuanian keeps the Indo-European syllable structure intact, loss of vowels in interconsonantal position is relatively rare: syncope, as this loss is termed, does not occur with any frequency.

In addition to the general preservation of /s/ and the absence of syncope, there is a third feature in the phonology of Lithuanian that is also inherited from Indo-European: Lithuanian in general lacks gemination. The term gemination refers to the phenomenon of consonant doubling. Indo-European did not exhibit consonant doubling, but we have to inquire what happens if – for whatever reason – two identical consonants come into contact. This phenomenon can readily occur in morphologic contexts when one element ends in a certain consonant and the required marker immediately following this element begins with the same consonant. As far as we can see, two identical consonants in succession were not tolerated in Indo-European. Thus a word for 'water' had the shape **ap-* (possibly related to Lithuanian *upę* 'river'), which is continued in Sanskrit *ap-*. In the instrumental case, we expect **ap-bhis*, and the two labial consonants would probably have shown assimilation in becoming voiced, but the result of theoretical **abbhis* became *adbhis* by dissimilation, and in this way the double consonant could be avoided.

The main feature of Lithuanian phonology that I discussed in the preceding lines, namely absence of germination, is most noticeable to foreign ears, but also to foreign eyes. The author's name is rather steadfastly spelt in Lithuanian con-

texts as *Bamesbergeris* with just one *-m-*. This is fully understandable because in Lithuanian no words have double *-mm-* in medial position. *Šileris* is the normal way of presenting the name of the German author *Friedrich Schiller*.

But of course in Lithuanian, the possibility can arise that an *-s* occurs in word-final position and is followed by a word beginning with *s-*. For quite some time, I thought that the name of the well-known author and journalist that I heard only over the radio was *Saulius Purga*, until I found out that his last-name is in fact *Spurga*. I suppose that the prefix *iš-* does not often precede root syllables beginning with *š-*, but in the cases where this occurs we hear *š* only once, e.g. *iššukis* is pronounced as *išūkis* (with single *š*).

Absence of Gemination and the Verbal Paradigm

If we now look again at the verbal paradigm quoted above it will immediately be clear that the form for second person singular *vedi* 'you lead' lacks the marker *-s* that we are so familiar with from the cognate languages: Sanskrit *bhar-a-si* 'you carry' goes back to Indo-European **bher-e-si*, and evidently it is our task to account for the lack of the sibilant in Lithuanian *vedi*. This is altogether strange if we note that the sibilant /s/ is precisely the phoneme that is preserved tenaciously in Lithuanian to the present day. But in certain contexts, the marker *-si* for second person singular could be preceded by a root ending in *-s*. Particularly important in this context is the verbal root for 'be' that is found in Lith. *esù* 'I am' (to be analyzed as *es-ù*). Further details concerning the precise reconstruction of the underlying Indo-European root are not immediately relevant in the present context. But if we posit the root in the shape **es-* we can readily compare Latin *est* 'he, she, it is'. For second singular we will then posit the underlying form as **es-si*.

In the case of **es-si* the rule that Lithuanian lacks germination must be observed and obeyed. This can only mean that **essi* was realized as **esi*. Since the verbal root was in fact **es-* speakers could easily abstract a secondary rule according to which the marker for second singular in the verbal paradigm seemed to be **-i*. The verbal form *esi* 'you are' was of frequent use in the linguistic system. It is therefore quite conceivable that the form *esi* 'you are' led to further innovations.

In the paradigm of 'be' we have a pattern of (imperative) *es* 'be' : (second singular) *esi* 'you are'. We may assume that at an early stage the imperative of a verb like *vesti* 'lead' was *vede*. Then the following proportion could work: *vede* : X = *es* : *esi*. According to this proportion, X = *vedei* could arise. In final position *-ei* led to the monophthong *-i* in *vedi*, but the diphthong still appears in the reflexive form *vedies*.

Conclusion

The development sketched in the preceding paragraph is ultimately likely to be more complicated, and only the main point was argued in this short paper. For explaining the morphology of a language it is always important to keep basic features of the sound development in mind. Lithuanian is particularly important for comparative Indo-European studies because some very basic features of the mother tongue can be observed down to the present day: preservation of Indo-European syllable structure, absence of syncope, and, above all, lack of germination are features that have repercussions in the development of Lithuanian morphology.

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Sweet Tears

BIRUTĖ JONUŠKAITĖ

When Lidija moved with her husband and children to live in the home on the private household plot they had just bought, it was quiet in the neighboring houses. One plot was overgrown with willows and raspberry bushes, the second had birch trees and sea-buckthorns, while the third had plums blossoming above the undergrowth and the grass that was never cut. A whiter-than-white cloud surrounded the small triangle-roofed house. It was comical, as if made out of cards: narrow, high, with gaping holes in the veranda – perhaps for future windows.

The small house was occasionally visited by two men, one older and one younger. Both had walking sticks for the blind. Lidija didn't concern herself with why they came, and didn't see them doing anything outside. However, one time the older man slowly made his way to the fence with a bucket full of rotten apples and dumped them neatly into Lidija's garden.

"They pick up the rotten apples, but they don't need the plums?" contemplated Lidija.

The plums were always stolen by who knows whose children wandering by from who knows where. Lidija also picked

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them – she couldn't go by without seeing their honey-colored softness that was so spongy, so ripe that the insides were bursting from the skin, trying to get out, the juice dripping through the sweet tears – all you had to do was lick them.

The neighbor on the right cut down the willows, built a house, and found a wife who gave birth to two daughters in three years. The neighbor on the left sold his plot. The new owner also began digging a foundation pit. It was only over in the third plot of those neighbors at the end of the territory, that nothing changed: the plums blossomed and occasionally the blind people would arrive from the bus station – either the father or the son.

Lidija didn't have anywhere to hurry now. The children were at the university and would return only for the holidays. Her husband, like always, would come home from work late, so she would prepare dinner after the sun had already pushed itself considerably toward the west. And when one day she again saw the apples falling in her yard, she decided (perhaps more out of boredom than anything), she wasn't going to stay quiet about such shenanigans. Who cared if they were blind?

"Hi, doesn't it seem to you that you need to take the trash and put it in the containers, and not in your neighbor's plot?" she said to the blind man, who was already walking away. His ears perked up, and he turned around. His face was so bright. It was like his eyes were closed, but with beautiful crowns of black eyelashes. He had a neatly cut beard, ashen hair that was a little bit curly, a violet tuck-in shirt with a collar with one corner sticking out above the gray sweater and the other hidden, along with clean jeans and tennis shoes.

"I'm sorry, but we were told that no one lives there. We just put the apples there, and everything else we simply take away." The man restlessly shifted his weight from one

foot to another, leaning on the metal u-shaped handle of the bucket.

"We've been living here for almost ten years...Well, don't worry, I throw those apples of yours into the compost, but perhaps it would be better if I wouldn't have to collect them from the ground. You can hand me the bucket over the fence and I'll dump them out right away."

That was how Lidija got to know blind Zenonas, the son, who was around forty-five. That fall they tidied up the plentiful harvest of the garden together: they brought the rotten apples to Lidija's compost pile, picked the pears and the delicious plums, and then Lidija made amber marmalade – they licked it the entire winter, like some sort of unending summer, both her family, and Zenonas and his father.

Lidija sat near the window, looked at her neighbors' plums covered with snow, and waited for spring. In the winter, the blind father and son would rarely stop by the garden. But when a figure appeared in their neighbors' garden, Lidija would wade through the snowdrift to the fence. If she recognized the father, they would trade a few kind words and nothing more. But if Zenonas would come to see their little house...

Though they did not meet very much, she already knew everything. They lived in a Khrushchev-era apartment block not far from the center, on the second floor. He worked in the Factory for the Visually Impaired, but actually what he liked more was giving people massages. But when his mother died, there was no one left to pick up the phone and write down the names of those who wanted their services. His father was not able to do that, so the only things left for Zenonas were incense and his favorite music, as it seemed no one needed his deft hands.

When spring came, Lidija, serving as a confidant of sorts for Zenonas's activities, was already walking through

the small cluttered rooms of his house, which contained all kinds of old broken furniture, and laid out her plans:

"We need to use these chairs for firewood. We'll chop them up, then there will be something to heat the old metal stove. That rotten shelf as well. We'll put the two tables here together. We'll take one from our cellar – it's just sitting there all useless. We'll strengthen the legs, and there're all those cupboards there – we'll fit your place out for doing massages, Zenonas. You'll see, it will be cozy."

Lidija created comfort, while Zenonas and his dad made earthly things: an outdoor toilet, because if people started coming here, then they also needed such a place.

"Listen, did you see that our blind neighbors are building a shack? I don't understand at all how they are hammering those nails..." Lidija's husband said one day as he noticed some activity in the neighbor's plot.

"I don't know," she replied meekly. "If they are building it, they will build it. And if you're so concerned, go and look, maybe they need help..."

"No one asked me, and I won't go..."

It was an odd structure, leaning heavily to one side, with gaps between the boards three fingers wide in some places, the edge of the roof like the cap of some sort of rascal pointing sideways and with one wing sticking out too far.

Zenonas's "office" was also unusual, and as much as Lidija tried to make it pretty with the table covers, little pictures, candles, and incense she brought from home, it was far from the modern kind of premises for massage that she was used to. However, all that quickly became unimportant because when she stretched out on his thrown-together table, on an old mattress that she and Zenonas had also dragged out of the cellar, she swam far beyond the shabby wall, beyond the cupboard bought with Soviet coupons and the old samovar in the corner – she would start to float between his

palms, which slid along her body from the back of her neck to her toes, slid and slid, causing such waves of heat and such bliss that she had never dreamed of, even in her youth.

At the beginning, she paid him as had been agreed. After all, the man had to come after work – the weekends weren't enough for her. And, she couldn't just run through the gates over to her neighbor every time he came to his place. Her husband was a die-hard fisherman, but his schedule was irregular. For example, he would be set on going fishing, and then he ended up staying home. Sometimes Lidija managed to cancel her visit but, other times...Zenonas would follow his stick for nothing... It wasn't fun to see him wandering around the plums, always looking toward Lidija's house with his eternally closed eyelids.

Afterwards Zenonas started calling her. Ever more often. And stopped taking money. Lidija would count the days from each of his visits to the next.

Fall came once again, and once again they gathered the apples, pears, and plums together. The massage room became chilly, and the old metal stove wasn't able to heat it, which is why Lidija would bring a small bottle of something; however Zenonas did not drink, so she would take swigs herself. After a few swigs, she would point out more and more often that he needed to fix the windows, perhaps even install plastic ones, or at least cover the veranda with glass, as it would, in any case, keep the north wind out a little bit.

They hardly saw each other in winter. They would talk by phone. She started to call him Little Zenonas – Zeniukas – out of her longing. He liked that very much.

However, in spring, with the snow still not having melted, they brought...windows. Lidija didn't ask where they got them from – wooden, old-fashioned, hammered together in a haphazard manner. For a good week, Zeniukas and his father labored, while Lidija sometimes would look through the

little curtain at them, but did not go closer. It appeared disconcerting somehow, the wrestling of these two people with frames much bigger than themselves, and which did not stay put in the openings of the veranda at all.

"Are they out of their minds? Why are they putting windows there? The openings are too big! How are they going to seal them?" Lidija's husband shook his head and spit on the crocus plants that had just sprouted. "They erected them next to one another like two matchboxes on some bricks, and then used sticks to support them. Now they think that it will hold, but everything will go to hell after the first gust of wind."

"Then go, advise them. After all, you're an engineer."

"I don't go anywhere I'm not invited, and if you are such a good-hearted person, go there yourself. After all, you have the same degree."

"I'm just a housewife. On your orders, I signed off my degree thirty years ago."

"What's your problem? Were you lacking something during those thirty years? Did I ever hold back for your spas, the guided tours, the massages? Didn't I provide for our children?" he said. His hands shot up in disgust, and he went inside to watch television the whole night.

However, Lidija dawdled around the garden and grounds of the house till it got dark and, occasionally, out of the corner of her eye, looked through the plums to Zeniukas's veranda. How did they both push those windows into place without seeing anything? They were sparkling and already installed.

It really did make it warmer in Zeniukas's office; of course, not because of the glass-encased veranda, but the sudden and gushing mutual closeness – those winter months were so long and empty that now each male touch stung the skin like nettles. Delightful nettles.

"You haven't changed at all, you're just as beautiful..." and Zeniukas' deft fingers grasped not only the knots in her

neck or tense nerves. They now saw each little muscle of hers, the little pockets of her torso, her long, delicate legs, her youthful shoulders. What she didn't allow him to touch was her face. She knew that he would read all of her hidden years masterfully all at once. She told him about her face. And he believed her. He believed each and every word of hers. Because she was the first and only one for him.

The next time he came with a present.

"This is for you. The saleswoman said that it's very beautiful, that it will be flowering with blossoms the whole summer, and in winter you will need to keep it in a cooler place so it can get some shut-eye, and in spring it will blossom again," he said, giving her a pot with a senna plant.

"My God, how wonderful!" Lidija gasped out of joy, thanked him, and in her mind was already thinking where she would put this weed with only a few leaves – after all, her house was full of more beautiful flowers.

Zeniukas beamed. He shone even more when Lidija began praising the glass-encased veranda: he and his father had done such a difficult job very well. They had done everything so masterfully together, it was simply unbelievable.

Almost every passer-by who glanced at Zeniukas' house was surprised, thinking to themselves, "Simply unbelievable, how do those windows stay put?"

They held up for the entire summer, and fall, and winter. Afterwards everyone forgot them.

Lidija as well. Because it wasn't cold anymore in winter in Zeniukas' office – on a woman's advice, Zeniukas had remodeled it. Lidija brought him a handyman, who put up insulation, built a fireplace, and even put in running water from the well, which was dug by another handyman. Zeniukas's father didn't come to the house anymore – he became very ill, while for Zeniukas it was the opposite – he hardly left. It was here that he was happy. Very happy.

Until that fall day when it wasn't only Lidija that lusted after his ripe plums, but also boys that were up to no good. They swooped down like blackbirds on Eventide. Zeniukas's hearing was just as good as his touch, and he understood at once that it wasn't his neighbor gathering his fruits. He ran out onto the veranda without his cane to scare away the thieves, but he most likely stepped too far – he hit his head on the window frame and...

One of the little punks had his head split open from a falling brick, another was injured by glass shattering all over his body, while the smallest one, who was right near the veranda gathering plums, was knocked down and didn't get back up. Their out-of-work, drunkard parents were not saddened all that much – it was one mouth less at the table, and they even got a little money for him. And the older ones didn't have to be fed for a few months – they were taken care of at the hospital.

No one was taking care of Zeniukas now. No one knew at all what to do with him: you couldn't put him in jail, or let him off without punishment. But as he was not able to say how and why it all happened, he just repeated like a wind-up doll, "I wanted it to be warmer; they said the wind wouldn't blow in so much." So they put him in a mental facility. His father, who had no one to take care of him anymore, was taken to a retirement home.

Who will get the little house now? Who knows? Had Zeniukas privatized his plot? He was such an impractical person that he didn't even gather his plums himself... Lidija pondered these things on those long winter nights, throwing a glance at the senna plant on the chilly veranda behind pots of sauerkraut, skis, her husband's fishing rods, and old newspapers.

When the plant didn't recover and spring came, she got rid of it and the soil, throwing it into the compost bin. She washed out the pot and put it on Zeniukas's veranda.

Translated by JAYDE WILL

The Old Jewish Cemetery in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

VYTAUTAS JOGĖLA

Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries

In the nineteenth century Vilnius became a center (one of several in the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania) of Jewish, or Litvak, life. Nearly half of the city's inhabitants were Jews who earned their livelihood by engaging in commerce of one or another sort. Every ethnic group kept up its traditions according to the customs of their faith: they built houses of worship and founded organizations and schools. Each ethnic or religious group maintained its cemetery. Catholics, Protestants, and Tartars usually had cemeteries near their churches or mosques. The Orthodox in the nineteenth century did not; while Jewish cemeteries throughout the Grand Duchy most often were further away from the city center.

The city of Vilnius fits this pattern. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Russian Imperial government issued a decree forbidding graveyards in the city or city center. This decree was motivated not by politics but by health considerations: due to the spread of disease and epidemics it was feared that having burial

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grounds in the city might facilitate deadly outbreaks. As a result, almost all the graveyards near churches and other houses of worship in Vilnius were closed. Another reason for closing them was no less practical: due to the limited size of these burial grounds there inevitably came a time when no more space for burials was left over. This happened to the historical cemetery of the Jews.

In 1824, the leaders of Chewra Kadisza Cdoko Gdolilo, the Jewish Burial Society, asked the Vilnius governor Piotr Gorn to assign them another city-owned plot in addition to the overburdened Jewish cemetery in Šnipiškės on the other side of the Neris River.¹ But according to the Vilnius municipal prospective plan approved by the Czar in 1817, the new Jewish cemetery was supposed to be located in Antakalnis near St. Peter and Paul's Church behind the gunpowder magazines.² This land belonged to the Canons Regular, and the Vilnius governor-general gave an order to adhere to the plan and to place the cemetery in Antakalnis.³

Nevertheless the leaders of the Jewish Burial Society persisted and won a small victory. They were successful, after five years had gone by, in convincing the Vilnius governor-general that the new cemetery needed a better location. The plot belonging to the monks was near a road heavily used by Vilnius pedestrians during the summer. Thus a new plot was assigned not in the location indicated by the plan of 1817 but near a lot belonging to the former Orthodox Holy Spirit monastery called Popowszczyzna⁴. Its size was 2 tithings and 125 square fathoms (2.5 ha).

¹ Governor's writing to the Vilnius military governor Rimski Koršakov, December 13, 1824. Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (henceforward LVIA), F.378, Ap. BS 1824, B.848, L.1.

² 1824 m. Šnipiškių suburb plan. LVIA, F.378, Ap. BS 1824, B.848, L.3-4.

³ Writing to the Vilnius governor, January 1825. Ibid, L.5-6.

⁴ Writing of the Vilnius Monastery of the Holy Spirit to the land surveyor, November 24, 1830. LVIA, F.610, Ap. 2, B. 16, L.13.

While the new cemetery was not yet in place according to Jewish burial customs, the Vilnius burial society continued to bury the dead in the old graveyard. In 1830 the Vilnius police chief, carrying out the governor-general's order, forbade burials in the cemetery on the other side of the Neris River and accused the Vilnius Jewish Burial Society of burying people on top of others' graves. The society denied doing this and explained that since Jewish religious customs prohibited walking on the graves it was merely seeking to protect them by covering them with mounds of earth so that no one would walk over them.⁵ It is hard to say now which side was speaking the truth, though it is likely that burials were indeed taking place even after their prohibition since the other place for the cemetery was not yet ready then.

The Russian Imperial military fortifications that began to appear in 1831 changed, or began to annihilate, the Jewish cemetery. In that year there already stood, next to the cemetery, a one-story dilapidated brick building, pantry, and wooden stable. The cemetery was surrounded by ramshackle brick ramparts and a fence.

Throughout almost the entire period of the cemetery's existence, the Vilnius Jewish Community was able to secure permission from the authorities to have a so-called guard house either in the cemetery itself or next to it. After the fortifications were erected, the military command allowed the construction of a temporary wooden house behind the fence (at the end of the cemetery). Soon thereafter the authorities complained that the house served not only as the security guard's living quarters but as a tavern as well. It seems that later, after the Imperial Russian fortifications in Vilnius were removed, the Jewish community built for the guard's benefit a house and a utility barn near Derewnicka (now Rinktinės) Street. Fearing that the

⁵ Writing of the Vilnius Burial Society to the governor-general, October 15, 1830. LVIA, F.378, Ap. BS 1824, B.848, L.8.

ramshackle structure might collapse and thereby injure people, the city magistrate ordered it to be torn down.⁶ The community protested and argued in vain that it shouldn't be demolished, but the authorities paid no attention to their arguments and made the watchman move out of the dangerously decrepit building.

The Plot and the Fence

In 1831 the cemetery was kept up and managed by the Vilnius Jewish Community. That at least was stated in official documents sent to the imperial capital, although other archival documents show these functions to have been assigned to the Vilnius Jewish Burial Society. The difference in the terminology used here apparently is of little consequence, as the authorities did not always have a good understanding of a closed community's internal affairs and traditions. Thus on the basis of the data on the lists we can assert that the cemetery territory was not owned by the Vilnius Jewish Burial Society or the Vilnius Jewish Community. This claim is implicit in all documents and we have found no indications that it is inaccurate. It is worth remarking that the city's authorities found no evidence that the Vilnius Jewish Community paid any land taxes on cemetery property. In the column or columns of documents for indicating the plot's ownership or trusteeship it is stated that the cemetery is on land belonging to the city, the Radziwill princes, and the Carmelite Fathers.⁷

A newly found register of Jewish cemetery burial documents (*Žydų kapinių dokumentų rejestras*⁸), confirms that on

⁶ Writing of the municipal architect, January 18, 1937. LCVA, F.64, Ap.9, B.4965, L.53.

⁷ Certificate of July 30, 1831. LVIA, F. 378, Ap. BS 1831, B.2556 b, L. 75; Certificate of January 27, 1832, LVIA, F. 1286, Ap.5, B.700, L.98.

⁸ *Žydų kapinių dokumentų rejestras, Vyriausias seniųjų aktų archyvas, Radvilių archyvas (Varšuva)*, (henceforward AGAD AR), section XVIII, b.17364, l.15.

April 21, 1626, Lithuanian Field Hetman Prince Kristupas Radvila awarded Jews a plot of land for their cemetery, while in 1759 another prince, Lithuanian Grand Standard-bearer Jeronimas Radvila, awarded the Vilnius synagogue a plot of land for a cemetery. A third, undated document is a petition addressed to Jeronimas Radvila by the Vilnius kahal asking for permission to bury the dead in that cemetery. But the historian Elmantas Meilus, following Izrael Klauzner, mentions the Lithuanian Cupbearer Jeronimas Florijonas Radvila who, though not owning land near the cemetery, forcibly demanded payments for protection services he allegedly offered.⁹ Thus we have two conflicting accounts of land possession and fee payments. Oddly enough, original documents about what really happened have not survived.

According to the initial version, the property appraisal commission valued the land (containing the house and the cemetery) at 4.5 thousand roubles but later, responding to the Imperial government's outrage, reduced it to 3.5 thousand roubles.¹⁰

The cemetery was rimmed by a fence 1299 arshins in length. From this one may surmise that the cemetery area was in excess of four hectares. In 1832 workers hired by the Vilnius Duma demolished the brick fence because military regulations forbade the existence of structures that could interfere with military actions. The Vilnius Jewish Burial Society asked Vilnius governor-general Nikolai Dolgorukov for permission to erect a wooden fence on the foundation of the former brick fence.¹¹

⁹ Elmantas Meilus, "Senųjų Vilniaus žydų kapinių Šnipiškėse istorija," pages not numbered.

¹⁰ Report of the Vilnius police chief, 1832. LVIA, F. 378, Ap. BS 1831, B.2556 b. L.228.

¹¹ Request of August 17, 1836. LVIA, F. 378, Ap. BS 1831, B.2556 *, L.785.

This was the society's second request. Archival material makes clear that the Russians removed the fence twice: in 1831, and again in 1836, when they aimed to widen the esplanade.¹² After consulting with the military command, the governor-general rejected the request because in 1832 Captain Semionov had already approved the erection of a wooden fence around the cemetery. At that time the Jewish society had agreed that if ordered by the military command it would tear down that fence in two days. But the erection of the fence caused a conflict between the burial society and the monks. While constructing it, the burial society widened it on the monastery's side – in order, as they themselves claimed, to create a pathway along the cemetery.

No documents could be found relating to how much of the cemetery's area was taken up by the military fortifications. It is known that on the right bank the military command had built a ravelin and five redoubts, and six additional redoubts were set up in the direction of the Green Bridge. However, the contemporary historian Michał Baliński claimed that beyond the Neris River in front of the arsenal three brick structures were built to store gunpowder.¹³ The Russian officials called all the fortifications on the right side of the river *mostovoe prikrite*. It seems that the dug-out ditches and ramparts built around the fortifications came right up to the cemetery. This territorial situation of the cemetery in relation to the Vilnius military fortress remained the same until the advent of Soviet times.

Apparently the cemetery's wooden fence was not kept in good condition. When the Poles occupied Vilnius in 1919, a quarrel broke out between the local Jewish community and the military units stationed near the cemetery. When soldiers began to tend their horses in the cemetery and to dam-

¹² Report of the chief of the Vilnius Engineering Team, August 25, 1836. LVIA, F. 378, Ap. BS 1831, B.2556 *, L.781-782.

¹³ Michał Baliński. *Opisanie statystyczne miasta Wilna*, 22.

age the wooden grave markers, the cemetery keeper Mejeris Zelmanovičius complained about the broken monuments of Rabbi Izrael Krejnes and of Simonas Strašūnas's mother; the wooden roof of the Gaon's monument had also been removed.¹⁴ In 1920 the Vilnius police inspector reported to his chief that the city's Jews complained of overturned markers because some people were destroying graves and the fence as well as dislodging the markers.¹⁵ The Vilnius police ordered the cemetery leadership to surround the territory with barbed wire and positioned a patrol officer in its vicinity.

But a new cement fence was built only in 1939. Four years earlier the Polish government had declared the cemetery a museum site and taken responsibility for it. During the war it was substantially damaged: the entrance to it was torn down and the southern fence was destroyed completely. In 1947 a commission, basing itself on the former lines of the fence and fortifications, determined its area to have been 2.7 hectares.¹⁶ Thus we might say that before the war the cemetery occupied a larger area: 3.25 ha.

The Soviet Period

The Soviets took away from the Vilnius Jewish Community or, more accurately, nationalized all the property it possessed and handed it over to various Soviet offices. On September 16, 1940 the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and the Interior Minister formed a special commission consisting of Chairman Petras Kežinaitis, Director of the Press and Association Section; Vincas Petronis, delegated

¹⁴ 1920 Jewish press review. Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (henceforward – LCVA), F.13, Ap.1, B.422, L.26.

¹⁵ Report to the Vilnius police chief, May 5, 1920. Ibid., L.8.

¹⁶ Cemetery Inspection Report, December 15, 1947. Lietuvos ypatinės archyvas (henceforward – LYA), F.1771, Ap.11, B.274, L.13.

by the Education Ministry; and Šmerelis Maiminas, delegated by the Lithuanian Communist Party.¹⁷ Kežinaitis decided to liquidate the Vilnius Jewish Community because its continued "activity is incompatible with the aspirations of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic."¹⁸ At that time, the Jewish Community had control of about 30 pieces of real estate. In 1937 it had taken over this property from the Great Jewish Synagogue and the Cemetery Board (more precisely, the Jewish Burial Society), the Jewish members of the Vilnius Municipal Council, and other societies. In 1940, all these holdings were distributed among three Soviet agencies: the private homes and the slaughter-house went to the People's Commissariat of the Communal Economy; the museum and libraries, to the People's Commissariat of Education; and the three Jewish cemeteries, to the Vilnius Municipal Government. The actual nationalization was entrusted by the chairman to the Vilnius City and District leader. On October 22, 1940, the ancient Jewish Cemetery was turned over to the Vilnius Municipal Government: "...a lot of about 3 ha and 2552 sq m with historical monuments and remains."¹⁹

We know that after the return of the Vilnius territory to Lithuania, there were disagreements between the Jewish Community, on the one hand, and the Great Vilnius Synagogue and the Burial Society, on the other. Thus less than a month following nationalization, the leaders of the synagogue and the burial society, including Matas Strašūnas, Izaokas Margovickis, Notelis Gurvičius, Mauša Voložinskis, Icikas Pietuchovskis, and Joselis Svirskis appealed to the mayor of Vilnius and asked him to let them govern three religious ob-

¹⁷ 1940 Order of the internal affairs minister. LYA, F.L-43, Ap.6, B. 608, L.1.

¹⁸ Decision of September 16, 1940. VAA, Ap. 4, B.880, L.163.

¹⁹ Property Transfer and Reception Act, October 22, 1940. Vilniaus apskrities archyvas (henceforward – VAA), F.761, Ap.4, B.880, L.90.

jects: the Great Vilnius Synagogue, the ritual bathhouse, and three Jewish cemeteries²⁰ (that on Kirkuto Street 5; the Old Cemetery on Rinktinės Street.; and the Ažuolyno or Dębowka cemetery). This request came rather early because the Vilnius municipal authorities had not yet been put officially in charge of the cemeteries. The mayor was at a loss what to do but was apparently benevolently inclined because already the next day he asked the LSSR Communal Economy Commissar for advice. He thought the maintenance and administration of the cemetery would be an additional burden on the city government, whereas it would be much more convenient for the city and the Jewish Community itself if the cemetery were run by people directly appointed for this task by the municipal government. Three months later this was done: all three cemeteries were put under the charge of persons from the Vilnius Jewish Community. Legally speaking this "putting in charge" was a mere formality since all cemeteries had already been nationalized.

When after the start of World War II Lithuania was occupied by the Germans, it is not clear who looked after the Old Jewish Cemetery. On the orders of Alfred Rosenberg and under the direction of V. Šaferis, a certain Goldbergas drew up a list of the most prominent Jews buried in this cemetery.²¹ The criteria by which Goldbergas selected the most prominent graves are not clear; still, the list is valuable, not least of all because it provides sometimes extensive biographical data about the people involved: they include the most famous Vilnius rabbis, Talmud exegetes, scholars, and community activists together with their relatives. But the list is probably incomplete because only 51 graves are listed.

When after the Holocaust the Soviets returned, there were only 20,000 faithful left in the Vilnius Jewish Community. As

²⁰ Request of October 21, 1940. VAA, Ap. 4, B.880, L.41.

²¹ Senosios kapinės, 1943. LCVA, F. R.-1421, Ap.1, B.504, L.30-56.



Sports Palace. Photo by Almantas Samalavičius.

Chairman Geršonas Kabas complained to the Soviet authorities, "it is difficult to maintain even the Synagogue."²²

The Destruction of the Cemetery

On the approach of the tenth anniversary of Soviet rule in Lithuania, the Lithuanian SSR's Council of Ministers on May 15, 1950 passed a resolution "on the building of jubilee-related objects" which directed the Vilnius Municipal Executive Committee to build a fence along Eidukevičiaus Street

²² Report of the representative for religious affairs, 1949. LCVA, F. R-181, Ap.3, B.22, L.15.



Žalgiris Stadium.

(now Rinktinės Street) to be paid for with city funds.²³ This fence enclosed the Old Jewish Cemetery. At this same time the Žalgiris Stadium and the territory surrounding it were being reconstructed. In this stadium the Soviet government intended to hold mass celebrations.

Somewhat earlier, on July 27, 1946, when the authorities weren't yet thinking of any anniversaries, the Jewish Museum Board together with its director J. Gutkovičius requested that the Old Jewish Cemetery be put on the "protection of endangered objects" list with an appropriate plaque.²⁴ During the war no one had looked after it. The Germans had cut down all the trees and bushes as well as destroyed most of the grave

²³ Writing of the LSSR Finance Ministry, December 8, 1950. LCVA, F. R.-754, Ap. 4, B. 1946, L.79.

²⁴ Writing to the Museum and Ancient Monuments Section, Committee on Culture and Education Offices, LSSR Council of Ministers (Copy to LSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, Comrade Paleckis), 1946. Lietuvos Respublikos Kultūros ministerijos archyvas (henceforward – KMA), F.16, Ap.1, B.40, L.90; Vanda Kašauskienė, "Kai stigo démesio"; J. Rozina, "K voprosu," 248.

markers. After the war, the picture was more desolate still: cows were pasturing in the cemetery, and pedestrians walked through it using the markers as stepping stones.²⁵ Neglected and abandoned, the cemetery less and less resembled anything like a traditional resting place for the dead. If not for the military ramparts dug out in the nineteenth century, it would have disintegrated even earlier.

In 1947 there were but a few individual monuments left in the 10-acre field, but even these remaining grave markers were not the old ones, but such as had been constructed with bricks over the previous twenty years, or, in other words, restored because inside the monuments there were placed stone boards.²⁶ For example, a dilapidated underground structure with a reinforced concrete roof and a name in black paint, stood where the Gaon had been buried.

The Soviet ruling class (*nomenklatura*), though by no means well-educated, understood that this picture wasn't pretty. Although the museum's board had written to Justas Paleckis, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, no positive response was received. Only Bortkevičius, the chairman of the committee of cultural and educational offices, sent a copy to the chairman of the Vilnius executive committee with a request to put the cemetery in order.²⁷ But there is nothing in the archives that suggests that this request was acted upon.

It seems that the immediate postwar period was not the best time to worry about the upkeep of cemeteries. Even the graves of fallen Soviet soldiers became an object of some concern only when the afore-mentioned jubilee drew near. There

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Cemetery inspection report, December 15, 1947. LYA, F.1771, Ap.11, B.274, L.13.

²⁷ Writing to the Vilnius executive committee chairman, August 23, 1946. KMA, F.16, Ap.1, B.40, L.94.

was also the matter of the generally unfavorable policies and attitudes that Stalin evinced toward the Jews at that time. The only half-way feasible way of preserving the Jewish cemetery could just be the efforts – not only in words, but in physical actions – of the Jewish community itself (which in Vilnius at that time consisted of about 20 thousand people) in tending to the ruined graves.

The news about the intended future closure of the cemetery spread not only through Vilnius itself. In 1947 the World Jewish Congress in New York appealed to the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee of the USSR for help "in preserving a monument important to all the world's Jews."²⁸ The Secretary of the Soviet Lithuanian Communist (Bolshevik) Party, Antanas Sniečkus, having received this request asked P. Kareckas, the chairman of the Vilnius City Executive Committee, to submit his conclusions. Kareckas did not even know in which cemetery the Gaon (referred to as Guam because of an error in the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee's letter) was buried and directed the chief municipal architect Vladislovas Mikučianis to set everything straight.²⁹ To this end a commission was formed consisting of Mikučianis; Vladas Sakas-Sakavičius (Head of the Protection of Architectural Monuments Section); Rindziunskis, senior fellow of the Vilnius Jews Museum; Eduardas Budreika, Chief inspector of the Protection of Architectural Monuments; Section-engineer architect Isakas Brancovskis; and the Jewish Community Chairman, Geršonas Kabas. The commission inspected the cemetery and came to the following conclusion: "This monument (cemetery) as well as all the recently built monuments have no historical or artistic value. Several eighteenth century (stone) boards are bricked into the northern

²⁸ Writing of the committee to comrade Sniečkus, November 6, 1947. LYA, F.1771, Ap.11, B. 274, L.1.

²⁹ Writing of A. Sniečkus, November 20, 1947. LYA, F.1771, Ap.11, B. 274, L.6.

wall (fence). The grave of Ger Cedekas (Count Valentinas Potockis, who converted to Judaism) with its "legendary" tree have been destroyed. Since its demolition, the old Jewish cemetery has been neglected and not looked after by anyone. The commission believes it would be appropriate to preserve in the cemetery's southeastern portion a small area (20 by 20 meters) where the most valuable stone boards would be placed, since according to the general plan's provision for a park, the rest of the cemetery territory would be used for a park."³⁰

According to the general Vilnius plan, the stadium was to be expanded to 25 thousand seats, which meant having to expand the construction territory. The sole convenient space for such an expansion was, in the plan's creator's eyes, the territory consisting of the cemetery and its surroundings. There an entire sports complex was to be constructed, the idea for which had already originated in pre-war Poland, when the Polish government or Vilnius city magistrate had started preparing projects for a sports-oriented territory up to the Neris River. The chairman of the Vilnius Executive committee, Kareckas, therefore agreed with the commission's view that "the valuable memorial boards may be placed together at a certain location in the park and concealed by plants, or else transferred to another cemetery."³¹

In the summer of 1948 the Vilnius Municipal Executive Committee formed a working group charged with evaluating the condition of the city's cemeteries and proposing recommendations. At that time, the Soviet government was actively shutting down churches and houses of worship in the course of combating what it called "religious fanaticism." One of the components in this struggle was the abolishment of cemeteries. After several months, the commission presented a list of

³⁰ Cemetery Inspection Report, December 15, 1947. LYA, F.1771, Ap.11, B.274, L.13.

³¹ Writing to the Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Comrade Sniečkus, January 6, 1948. LYA, F.1771, Ap.11, B.274, L.10-11.

cemeteries supposedly unfit for further burials. On October 15, 1948, a session of the people's deputies of the Vilnius City Executive Committee decided to shut down three cemeteries and liquidate two: The Jewish one on Rinktinės Street and a Catholic one on N. Melninkaitės Street.³²

The initial proposal had been only to close the latter two cemeteries, but the deputies changed their mind after agreeing with the city's economic chief Semionov. The Vilnius plan provided that the whole territory from the Neris River along the Rinktinės and Sporto Streets be set aside for the construction of athletic facilities. On April 19, 1949, the Vilnius City Executive Committee transferred to the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, a 3.7 hectare lot between Eidukevičiaus, M. Melninkaitės, Sporto Streets, and the Neris River".³³

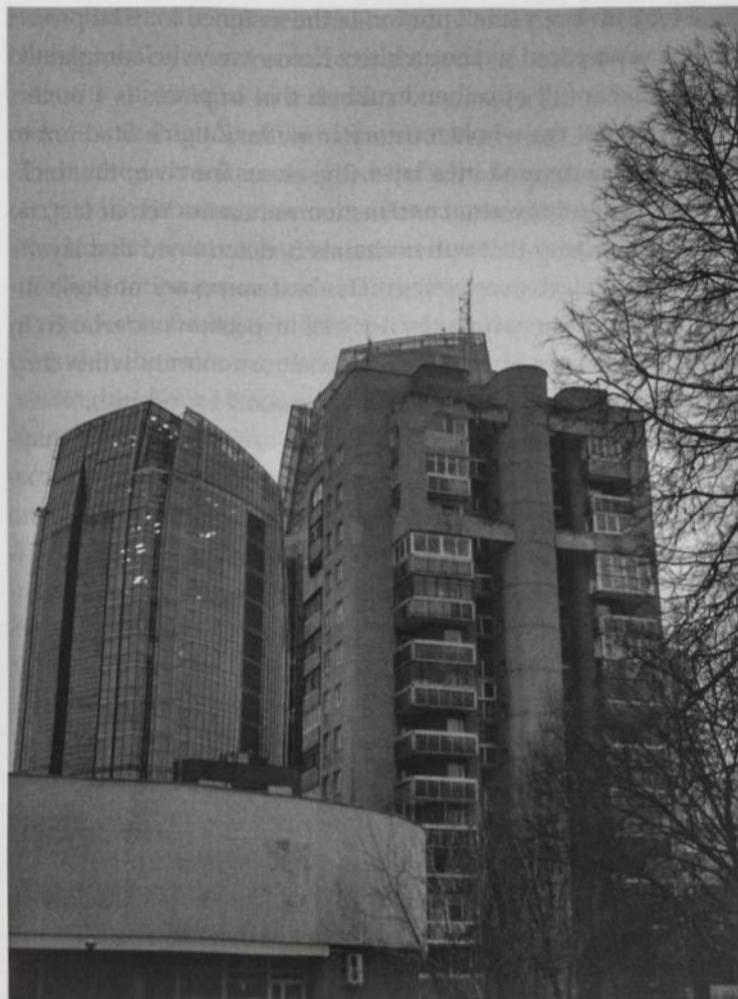
In the summer of 1949 the Vilnius City Executive Committee committed itself to perform additional tasks on this territory: to create new city squares (plazas) next to the power plant and the stadium, and to erect speakers' platforms in the state stadium."³⁴ The celebration of a Soviet jubilee hastened the liquidation of the cemeteries. In the consciousness of post-war Soviet man these cemeteries were no longer existent on this territory, and the solitary monuments standing in a forlorn place no longer evoked special feelings.

In 1950 an enclosed swimming pool began to be built at the request of the Lithuanian SSR Sports and Physical Culture Committee. Its official address then was Edukevičiaus Street 1. The lot was bounded by the as yet vacant stadium territory on the North, the Neris River on the South, Eidukevičiaus Street on the

³² Decision No.604, October 15, 1948. LCVA, F.761, Ap. 9, B.110, L.291.

³³ Decision No. 223, April 19, 1949. VAA, F. 983, Ap.1, B.15, L.38.

³⁴ Writing to LSSR Council of Ministers' Chairman Comrade Gedvilas, June 29, 1949. VAA, F.1015, Ap.1, B.96, L.46.



A Blend of Soviet and post-soviet architecture, Šnipiškės.

Photo by Almantas Samalavičius.

West, and the military unit's wooden fence on the East.³⁵ The lot's size was 45 by 28 meters, and its area was 2553 sq. m. Thus the

³⁵ Conclusions of the Vilnius municipal health department's sanitary inspection team, July 11, 1952. VAA, F.1036, Ap.11, B. 157, L.51.

pool took up but a small portion of the assigned lot. The project for it was prepared by the architect Kolosovas, who complained that the lot is full of soil and rubbish that in places is 4 meters high.³⁶ Almost the whole territory from the Žalgiris Stadium to the river was covered by a layer (the closer the river, the thicker it got) of garbage and construction remnants. Yet, in fact, no geological inquiry that was undertaken, determined that layer's varying chemical composition. The best summary of these investigations was provided by a visual inspection undertaken in 1946 by members of the Vilnius Jewish community when they claimed that "the cemetery has become a site for rubbish."³⁷

We have found no traces in the archives of what happened to the monuments, but it's certain they haven't survived. Another puzzle concerns re-burials, about which no one mentioned anything prior to 1950. J. Rozina, who studied the history of the Antakalnio (Kirkuto) Cemetery, mentions the re-burial of 35 people's remains when the Jewish cemetery there was liquidated in 1963. But that list contained only 38 Jews.³⁸ But there are no archaically confirmed data about the re-burial of remains from the Old Jewish Cemetery. Even though the Šeškinės Cemetery contains references to the graves of the Gaon and other famous Jews, G. Agranovskij and I. Guzenberg, in their description of noteworthy historical Jewish places, state that "the Šnipiškių Cemetery is the Gaon's second burial site. Also buried there are the Gaon's wife, son, and Count Valentinas-Potockis Ger Cedek."³⁹ Unfortunately, the authors say nothing about the time of the re-burial.

³⁶ Note of explanation, 1953. VAA, F.1036, Ap.11, B. 92, L.5.

³⁷ Writing to the Museum and Ancient Monuments Section, Committee on Culture and Education Offices, LSSR Council of Ministers (Copy to LSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, Comrade Paleckis), 1946. KMA, F.16, Ap.1, B.40, L.90; Vanda Kašauskienė, "Kai stigo dėmesio".

³⁸ J. Rozina, "K voprosu," 249–250.

³⁹ G. Agranovskij, I. Guzenberg, *Litovskij Ierusalim*.

But even if such reburials actually took place, in some cases they probably were no more than symbolic, for determining the identity of remains in a devastated cemetery in which people were buried on top of each other is no easy task. The Municipal Executive Committee assigned the job of liquidating the cemetery to the Economic Section and the Burial Office. It's likely that the human remains and monument remnants dug out during the liquidation process, were ditched into various hollows closer to the Neris, because in 2002 more than 700 human bones were found in the reconstructed Rinktinės and Olimpiečių Streets accessing the King Mindaugas Bridge, then being built. We do not know who buried them there and when. Human bones were discovered by archaeologists as well when they studied the cemetery territory while heat pipes were being laid during construction. Knowing the history of Šnipiškės, we may surmise that human remains from three cemeteries may have ended up there: from the old Jewish cemetery, the Carmelite cemetery next to the Jewish, and the liquidated catholic cemetery on Žvejų Street.

At the location where the cemeteries used to be, the Vilnius Palace of Concerts and Sports went up in the early 1970s and the whole territory was "appropriated."

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ABSTRACTS

The Post-Soviet Reception of Vyduñas, or the Particularities of Lithuanian Cultural Memory

TOMAS KIAUKA

In Lithuanian culture, Vyduñas is understood as a representative of two "foreign" cultures – Indian and German. The post-Soviet reception of his work reveals an interesting tendency: the Indian "East" identified in Vyduñas' works and way of thinking is connected to mythologically expressed ideas of the authenticity of old Lithuanian culture and religion. As a result, a component of Eastern culture is integrated into Lithuanian cultural memory. Vyduñas' German-Protestant identity does not receive the same attention and is brought into scholarship only as a non-integrated, discrete element or as an expression of a specific historical episode without any real influence on his thinking and work. This condition of reception reveals certain particularities in the formation of Lithuanian identity and cultural memory.

The Value of the Contemporary Lithuanian Novel as a Struggle in the Literary Field

NERIJUS BRAZAUSKAS

This article explores the discourse of the value(s) of contemporary Lithuanian novels of the first decade of the twenty-first

century as a struggle in the literary field. The hypothesis proposes that the issue of value(s) is a complex question both of field (agent(s), capital(s), habitus, etc.) and of the construction of identity. The methodological background, which includes both the theory of the field by Pierre Bourdieu and Manuel Castells's conception of the three different forms of identity, is used to analyze the structure of the literary field and the struggle between the "players", who implicitly can have *legitimizing, resistance, or project* identities. The article analyzes how different types of capitals, the positions of various authors and institutions, and the writers' (self-) representations modify the literary field and construct both cultural values and the writers' identities. The research concludes by arguing that the field of literature and identity are not a stable discourse. It is a problematic area in which the value(s) of literature, value(s) of creator, value(s) of readers, and value(s) of cultural productions clash.

Archaic Features in the Sound System of Present-Day Lithuanian

ALFRED BAMMESBERGER

The paper investigates various interesting features in the historical grammar of Lithuanian and concentrates on the absence of consonant germination that was inherited from the Indo-European mother tongue. The absence of consonant germination is likely to provide the underlying reason why in the verbal form *vedi* 'you lead' the consonant *-s-* of the person marker **-si* was lost.

The Old Jewish Cemetery in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries
VYTAUTAS JOGĖLA

Nearly half of Vilnius' population in the nineteenth century were Jews. Like any other ethnic groups, Jews maintained their cemetery. Jewish cemeteries before modern times were most often far away from the city center. The old Jewish cemetery underwent significant transformations during imperial Russia's regime and was finally demolished after World War II when Soviet municipal authorities set out to modernize the former suburb of Šnipiškės on the bank of the River Neris.

In Lithuania's urban society, antisemitic bias was dominant during the first half of the twentieth century. The Soviet regime, however, brought a new perspective to the matter. Indian "East" identified in Vydiškiai's village, which was the location of the cemetery, is connected to mythologically questionable aspects of the authenticity of old Lithuanian culture and religion. As a result, a component of East German's "old memory" has been eliminated. Vydiškiai's German-Protestant identity does not receive the same attention and is brought into a new perspective. Vydiškiai is an integrated, discrete element or as an expression of a specific historical epiphany of the German historical narrative that is being organized in the form of a literary text.

THE VALUE OF LITERATURE IN THE LITHUANIAN HISTORICAL STRUGGLE IN THE LITERARY FIELD
NERIJUS BRAZAUSKAS

This article explores the discourse of the value(s) of contemporary Lithuanian novels of the first decade of the twenty-first

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